

THE MIRACULOUS BIRTH
OF
KING AMON-HOTEP III
AND OTHER EGYPTIAN STUDIES



COLIN CAMPBELL



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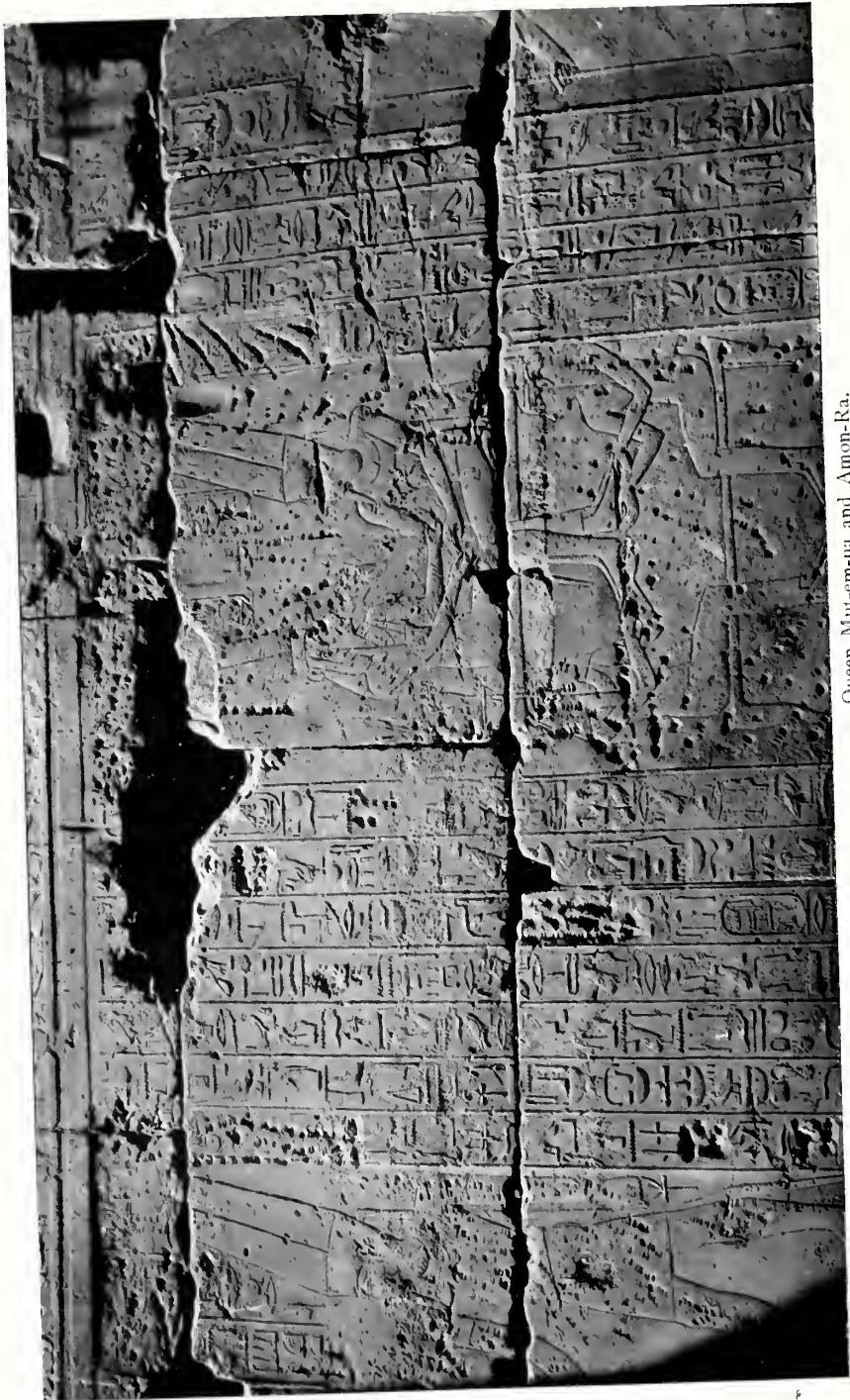
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Amon-Ra.

Queen Mut-em-ua and Amon-Ra,
Neith.
Serket.

THE DIVINE NUPTIALS OF AMON-RA AND QUEEN MUT-EM-UA.

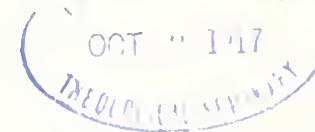
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AND

OTHER EGYPTIAN STUDIES



BY

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WITH PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR

OLIVER AND BOYD

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NOTE

A LONG and intimate acquaintance with the series of sculptured scenes on the west wall of the Birth-Room in Luxor Temple, which tell the story of how King Amonhotep III. (*circa* 1411-1375 B.C., according to Professor Breasted) came to be the son of the god Amon-Ra by a mortal mother, Queen Mut-em-ua, the consort of Thothmes IV., has convinced me that none of the published statements give quite satisfactory accounts of these remarkable pictures. It would be needless to indicate here the various points of difference between these accounts and the statement contained in the following pages: they become apparent in the course of the narrative, which broaches a new theory as to the motive of the pictures. Only the interests of truth compelled me to differ from many eminent authorities who have dealt with the subject; and yet I can hardly venture to hope that no errors have crept into my own work, which has entailed several years of conscientious study. The damaged condition of the walls of the Birth-Room and of the Colonnade Court must always be remembered in estimating the

accuracy of any account of its scenes. Hence, I have endeavoured to let the reader judge for himself, by supplying what photographs my own kodak could obtain of most difficult subjects. No professional photographer seems to have considered it worth while to turn his camera on these interesting walls.

Besides the scenes which depict the divine birth of the King, those of his coronation and identification with Osiris while still alive on earth, and other tableaux which adorn the same room, are discussed in connection with the birth, as forming essential elements of the King's personality as Son of the God. The divinity of the King was a very ancient conception of the Egyptian people, and was never abandoned, amid all the vicissitudes of the nation, so long as the nation endured. To Queen Hatshepsut, or her father, one hundred years before Amon-hotep III., is due the credit, or otherwise, of representing in pictorial form, for the first time, as far as we know, the divine parentage of the sovereign. I endeavour to show what her motive as well as Amon-hotep's was in having themselves so represented, in obedience to the priesthood of Amon in claiming for their god the prerogatives of the ancient God Ra.

I have not suggested a comparison, as S. Isslieb (*Klio*, ix. 383) has done, between the story of the divine birth of the Egyptian King and the narrative of the annunciation, birth and divine recognition of Jesus. That writer believes that "Son of God" is not a Jewish

royal title, but one clearly of foreign origin, doubtless Egyptian.

Another portion of the volume is devoted to the scenes of the Procession from Karnak to Luxor and back, depicted in the great Colonnade of the same temple, which the writer believes was another pictorial representation of the triumph of Amon in absorbing the attributes of Ra.

To these studies, which the writer hopes may be of some service to the Egyptologist as well as to the tourist, is added an account, with numerous photographs, of the Tombs of Two Theban Officials, not hitherto described. These photographs I secured, after considerable difficulty, with long exposures with an acetylene-gas lamp.

The principal hieroglyphic texts may in most cases be read from the photographs.

EDINBURGH,

11th Nov. 1912.

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THE MIRACULOUS BIRTH

AMON AS RA THE FATHER

“THE divinity that doth hedge a king” was no figure of speech, but an actual fact, to the ancient Egyptians from very early times down to the domination of the last Roman emperor (Decius) who figured as a “good god,” or “Son of Ra,” on the Temple of Esneh. The idea that the king is a god was not peculiar to the Egyptians or the Babylonians, though attempts have been made to ascribe the origin of the Egyptian conception to the latter people. The first conqueror or strong man among primitive nations was generally if not always deemed superhuman, and received divine honours both before and after death. He stood high above ordinary humanity; he was incarnate god upon earth. This did not imply, as is sometimes asserted, the divinity of man in general; the title and attributes of “god” were reserved for the man who rose to the supremacy of his fellows, and to him alone was ascribed the possession of “divine blood.” In this way arose

the belief among the early Egyptians that the man who led them to victory was the incarnation of the god they worshipped. It was as a "follower of Horus," the falcon-god, that their leader or king achieved the victory, and as a son of Horus the king was ever afterwards styled. The earliest accounts state that the ancient dynasties of the gods and demigods came first; then the Manes or Heroes; and lastly the historic kings who were believed to be the actual bodily offspring, and therefore the heirs, of their predecessors. Their kingdom was the "heritage," or "the portions of Horus and Set," Set being probably the lord of a portion of the country which the Horites found it difficult to conquer; every god was thus an ancestor of the king who in virtue of his divine birth was "established upon the throne of Horus" as the god's actual "son" and "heir" (lit. flesh). He was conceived to be invested in his heritage by will and testament in the same way as a son succeeded to his father's property, and the god Thoth, the scribe of the gods, acted as solicitor or attorney in carrying through the transaction. In texts inscribed on the Temple of Edfu and elsewhere, as will be seen below, the king enjoys the "duration or course of Ra, the sovereignty of Tum, the dominions of Shu, the throne of Seb, etc." These and other royal prerogatives were embraced in the one title or style of the "great name," or royal protocol, which finally included five divisions. Of these the oldest and principal

one was the Horus or Ra name, Horus being the son of Ra the Sun, the first king of all, and the ideal son and heir of his father. "The Horus" or "the Horus-Ra," chiefly in obedience to the priests of Annu (Heliopolis, the Scriptural On), thus became synonymous with "the king"; and when the title developed into "the Horus of Gold" it probably indicated the pure, uncorrupted nature of the sovereign as the bodily son of Ra. To mark this direct descent from the Father of Horus without any intermediary, another element consequently appeared in the royal style, in the phrase "Son of Ra"—a title which has not yet been found earlier than the v. Dynasty, in the person of which king it is difficult to determine; perhaps the honour may be assigned to Ra-dad-ka (Assa). It is noteworthy that it had a purely priestly origin, like "the Lord's anointed" among the Jews—a fact which has an important bearing on the question before us of the divine descent of Queen Hatshepsut and King Amon-hotep III. from the god Amon. The phrase "Son of Ra" was therefore attached, properly, to what was considered the birth-name of the sovereign; and, once adopted, it was never abandoned in the history of the Egyptian kings. Alexander the Great, a Macedonian, on his recognition as King of Egypt, also by the priests, added significantly to his "Son of Ra" name the phrase "Son of Amon" within the cartouche, as may be seen at Karnak. But long before Alexander's time, Heri-hor, the first priest-

king of Egypt, included in his "Son of Ra" name the same words, the full title being "Son of Ra, (and within the cartouche) Son of Amon Heri-hor," a plain assertion of the claims of Amon to the attributes of Ra as begetter of the king. Another term, in a sense explanatory of "Son of Ra," came into use at an early period, viz., "son of his body," which left no doubt as to the fact of the divine paternity. In the XII. Dynasty we find it, along with "Son of Ra," included in the cartouche of Usertesen III., though in the stele of the same king discovered by Dr Naville at Dêr el Bahri it is not so included, though it occurs elsewhere on the stone. The wife of Amon-em-hat III., his successor, is similarly called "daughter of his body," thus anticipating the divine parentage of Queen Hatshepsut by many centuries, and the "divine blood" of the former (Ptah-neferu) was as little in question as that of Queen Hatshepsut. The same phrase also appears in the title of Prince Ameni, Son of Ra, as well as on a stele in the British Museum of King Nefer-sekhem-Khau-Ra and on other monuments of the same period. The Hyksos kings, though they are called "Son of Ra," do not seem to have been styled, in addition, "of his body." In the XVIII. Dynasty and after, the phrase is common: Queen Hatshepsut in her epicene capacity calls herself "son" or "daughter" of Ra, as she pleases.¹

With the XVIII. Dynasty a remarkable form of royal

¹ A fragment of blue-glaze *menat* in the author's possession bears both genders.

family name appeared, which persisted to the end of the Ramesside period, viz., the addition of "child" (*mes*¹) to a god's name, to form the individual appellation of the king or queen. It properly began with Aah-mes (child of Aah, the moon god), the birth-name of the first king of the XVIII. Dynasty; and in the same interest we find Thoth-mes (child of Thoth), Ra-meses, Ra-messu (Ra-begot-him), Amon-mes (child of Amon), etc. But "Son of Ra" was not dropped; Aah-mes (child of Aah) was also "Son of Ra, of his body," and so with Thoth-mes. A feeling of redundancy did not prevent a Ra-meses from styling himself "Son of Ra, of his body, Ra-begot-him." The three appellations were meant to assert the same fact, each succeeding one emphasising the former. It is important to note that this use of a god's name in the formation of the sovereign's personal name is contemporaneous with the growth of the god Amon, who was now emerging, along with the rise of Thebes, from the comparative insignificance of a local god into the supremacy of all the gods of Egypt. First, Amon absorbed the principal powers and attributes of Ra, and became Amon-Ra; then lordship was claimed for him over all other deities, and he became "Amon-Ra, King of all the gods, the only One, with no second." The name of Aah or Tehuti might be given to royal children, but Amon as a father like Ra was bound to be claimed for the royal offspring by his priests, who were becoming

¹ "Mes," child, is the real meaning of "Moses," the leader of Israel.

more powerful every day with the growing wealth and prominence of the seat of Amon's worship. Evidence of that claim is to be seen in the family of the Amon-hoteps, who have at least equal right with the Thothmes kings to give their name to the XVIII. Dynasty. Amon-hotep, Amon is pleased or content (or the peace of Amon), destined to be the family name of at least four monarchs of the Dynasty, becomes in the person of Hatshepsut, Amon-Khnoumet (joined to Amon). In the XVIII. Dynasty the priests of Amon claimed for their god "every attribute of deity with which we are made familiar by the hymns to Ra" (Budge, *Gods of Egypt*, ii., 5), as the monuments attest. Like Aaron's rod, which swallowed up the rods of the Egyptian magicians, Amon absorbed all the other gods of the country; in the words of Professor Sayce, "we can watch him as he rises slowly from the position of an obscure provincial deity to that of the supreme god of all Egypt, and can follow the causes which brought it about. We can see him uniting himself with the sun-god, and then absorbing the rest of the Egyptian gods unto himself." Hence it came about that while the Egyptian king was a "Son of Ra, of his body," he was proclaimed by the priests of Amon to be inferentially a "Son of Amon"; and at last they had to represent Amon as the actual father of the monarch. It was the culmination of the assertion that Amon and Ra were one and the same. It was necessary, therefore, that Amon should be exhibited as a father-god

like Ra, Horus, Tum, and the other ancestor gods of whom the king was son and heir. Thus when Amon became "Ra, King of all the gods," this ancestry had to be shown pictorially as it had been traditionally. Hence the assemblage of the old gods which Amon holds at Dér el Bahri to announce his intention of being the father of the Sovereign-to-be. There is no question here of legitimacy.

The steps were gradually taken. A stele of Aahmes I., found at Karnak by M. Legrain, gives the name Amon-Ra, apparently for the first time. That may have been a tentative effort, for on a later monument, a statue of Amon-hotep I. in the British Museum, we find simply "Amon" without "Ra," which seems to show that there was still some hesitation in claiming for Amon all the attributes of Ra, including that of direct progenitor of the sovereign. By the time of Thothmes I., or Hatshepsut, however, all hesitation has vanished, and Amon is boldly represented as the veritable father of the Queen in the story of her birth as sculptured on the walls of her temple. Her miraculous birth was the claim of the priests of Amon for their god's equality with Ra as father visualised for all men to see. The example was followed by Amon-hotep III. in his great temple devoted to Amon at Luxor; and the title "Father Amon-Ra," used at the beginning of the Dynasty as a reverential appellation, and impressively employed by Thothmes I., father of Queen Hatshepsut, at the close of a long triumphal inscription (Tombos stele)—

“Amon-Ra, King of gods, is my father, the creator of my beauty”—becomes in her records almost a hackneyed phrase. Of course, all this was done by direction of Amon’s priesthood, to justify that god’s usurpation of the special function of Ra as the physical father of the sovereign. We venture, with all deference to Professor Maspero’s authority, to suggest that this was the inspiring motive of the representation of Queen Hatshepsut’s divine origin as the veritable daughter of the god Amon. Professor Maspero supposes that the object of the priests was to justify Hatshepsut’s claim to the throne, which was faulty by reason of her paternal grandmother’s impure “solar blood.” He says: “All the kings had the blood of Ra in them, and such of them as could not claim this purity of blood invented extraordinary genealogies, or better, married one of the princesses from the royal harems. The nobility of each member of a Pharaonic house and his titles to the crown were regulated by the quantity of divine blood which he could prove, and marriage of brother and sister was the best marriage, the marriage *par excellence*. If, for example, a sovereign had a son born of a slave, or of a concubine of inferior rank, and had also a daughter by a full sister of his own, then the throne belonged by right to the daughter and not to the son. . . . The priests, therefore, in order to correct the disability of an heir to the throne, imagined that the god intervened in person as parent, and they decided that the child, boy or girl, who was to succeed, should have Ra or Amon, not simply

for a remote ancestor but as his or her immediate progenitor and father. Hence Ra or Amon took the form of the husband, and the issue of such a union between the god and the mortal mother was of the pure blood royal of Ra or Amon. The existing monuments afford three examples of this divine parentage: first, the series of sculptures on the Dér el Bahri Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, in which she is shown to be the issue of a union between the god Amon and Queen Aahmes; second, in Luxor Temple, about a hundred years later, a similar series representing Amon-hotep III. as a son of the same god and Mut-emi-ua, the consort of Thothmes IV.; and third, the divine birth of the boy Cæsarion as the issue of Amon-Ra and Queen Cleopatra, represented on the Temple of Erment.¹

It is not proposed to deal with the last-mentioned instance, as it is beyond the bounds of Egyptian history proper.

Regarding the divine birth of Queen Hatshepsut, Professor Maspero is of opinion that because her father Thothmes I. was the son of Sen-senb, a woman not of the royal house, Hatshepsut's succession to the throne was rendered doubtful, and she therefore required the intervention of a miracle, for the first time, be it remembered, in Egyptian history, to free her from her paternal grandmother's taint of blood. Hence the god Amon

¹ Maspero, *Comment Alexandre devint dieu en Egypte*. The Temple of Erment was destroyed some years ago, and used up in building a French sugar-factory there. Pierre Loti does not notice this

incarnated himself in the person of her earthly father and imparted to the posterity of the latter a new virtue whereby the tainted blood was regenerated. Thus did Hatshepsut become the child of Amon, endowed with the blood of the "solar line," and deemed fit to succeed and reign. As the stele of Anna (Ineni) says: "Egypt was made to labour for her, the excellent seed of the god, which came forth from him" (Breasted's transl.).

Now, it must be pointed out that if Hatshepsut's succession to the throne was barred on account of her grandmother, Sen-senb, much more would her father, Thothmes I., be excluded, equally with Thothmes III., whose mother, like Sen-senb, was also of humble origin. Yet, so far as known, the right of Thothmes I., being son of Amon-hotep I., to reign was never questioned, and no divine intervention like the foregoing seemed to be necessary in his case to obviate the taint of impure blood by a divine reinforcement. On the contrary, in the records of his reign he uses all the well-known titles of Egyptian kings which implied their divine origin, and he does not hesitate to describe himself as the "bodily son of Ra" (Tombos inscr.), while being in no way ashamed to record at the same time that he was "born of the royal mother (*i.e.* a king's mother), Sen-senb." True, he married Queen Aah-mes, his half-sister, of pure "solar descent"; and by some this marriage may be thought to have legitimised his accession, but the fact remains that marriage or no marriage he considered himself a "Horus,

assuming the Kingdom of Horus . . . the bodily son of Ra, his beloved: Amon-Ra, King of gods, is my father, the creator of my beauty, beloved of the gods of Thebes." Here there is an assertion that Amon as Amon-Ra is his father, although his mother was a person of no consequence. In other words, the priesthood of Amon did not yet feel the necessity of representing their god as Ra the progenitor, in Amon's absorption of the attributes of all the Egyptian gods except Osiris.

Yet, on the score of her mother's pure "solar blood," Hatshepsut had claims to the throne superior to those of her father. Her mother Aah-mes, if succession through the mother be accepted as the dominant principle, was unimpeachable, as *her* mother in turn was the only altogether legitimate spouse of Amon-hotep I. Then why was a miracle necessary in Hatshepsut's case, and not in her father's? The answer may be found in the fact that hitherto no woman had sat on the throne as a reigning queen, and it was incumbent that she should be shown to be the direct offspring of the god Amon as "a son of Ra, of his body," and therefore to appear as a man before the people. This seems to be the chief object of the sculptures at the Dér el Bahri Temple. Whether we look on Hatshepsut as merely associated with her father on the throne, or as his successor,¹ some wonderful

¹ Breasted translates, in the coronation inscription, "She is my successor upon my throne, she it assuredly is who shall sit upon my wonderful seat . . . she it is who shall lead you," etc.

pictorial exhibition—as the Egyptian was no philosopher—whereby Amon was made to favour the transaction was deemed necessary, and the most suitable method appeared to the priests to be to make Amon assume the part of her divine father Ra. A tradition had been current which ascribed the Ra-descent of the kings from the wife of a priest of Ra who gave birth at one time to three kings of the v. Dynasty, of whom the god was the father. This tale was eventually put into writing, when it is not known: an incomplete copy of it is given in the Westcar Papyrus, dating probably from the xviii. Dynasty. Some identities in language between it and the Dér el Bahri and Luxor stories of the divine birth of the sovereign have been noted. There is a strong probability that the tale, whatever its origin, was employed at this period to support the claim of Amon to be regarded as the substitute of Ra in the divine birth of the ruler of Egypt.

With regard to Thothmes III., the son of Thothmes II.¹ (Queen Hatshepsut's half-brother) and a concubine, Ast, regarded either as co-regent with Hatshepsut or as an independent sovereign, we are confronted by the question, why it was not necessary to represent him also as the progeny of Amon, since by his mother's status he was barred from the throne. If his marriage with Hatshepsut's daughter, Meryt-Hatshepset, was sufficient

¹ The niche at Dér el Bahri Temple, where Thothmes III. is acting as *an-mutf* priest to Thothmes II., shows conclusively that the former is the son and the latter the father.

to overcome the taint of his origin and to enable him to reign as king—a very simple expedient, and more credible than having Amon for his father,—we are driven to the conclusion that some other reason was at work in Hatshepsut's case than the removal of the taint of her paternal grandmother's birth. If she was, as her father says in the coronation speech, "the heiress of Horus, whom I begat, daughter of the white crown, beloved of Buto," that was enough, according to Egyptian law, to give her precedence and to place her on the throne. Yet the priests of Amon seized on the unusual circumstance of a woman becoming the sovereign to utilise the occasion for the exaltation of their god.

The case of the divine birth of Amon-hotep III., as shown in Luxor Temple, is somewhat different. His father, according to the flesh, was Thothmes IV.; his mother, Queen Mut-em-ua. Thothmes IV.'s father was Amon-hotep II., son of Thothmes III. by Queen Hatshepsut's daughter; his mother was Ta-aa, queen of Amon-hotep II., as shown by a group in Cairo Museum, found by M. Legrain at Karnak in 1903. Queen Ta-aa's mother is unknown.

The important personage to be considered here is Mut-em-ua, the mother of Amon-hotep III. Was she of the "solar blood?" Miss Buttles (*Queens of Egypt*) conjectures that she was her husband's half-sister, a daughter therefore of Amon-hotep II. Mut-em-ua's son, according to the same authority, "seems to have

possessed rights through his mother, but was probably dissatisfied with his father's descent from Aset, Thothmes III.'s mother." That is to say, his great-grandfather's mother it was that had impaired the "solar blood,"—which defect he proceeded to rectify by sculpturing the birth scenes in Luxor Temple, whereby Amon-Ra, and not Thothmes IV., became his father! It may safely be said that whatever gave rise to these sculptures it was not uneasiness about his great-great-grandmother's "blood." There is no foundation for the assertion that "the mother of Amon-hotep III. was of Asiatic origin.¹ The model of a sacred boat, of black granite, made for Queen Mut-em-ua (British Museum) styles her "great hereditary princess of South and North," which seems conclusive as to her rank. Hence we may assume that the divine parentage claimed by Amon-hotep III. in his temple reared to Amon in Luxor was invented for some other reason than that of counteracting the supposed disabilities of his descent. We know that he was a devoted Amon worshipper, as attested by nearly all his records. He was specially distinguished for his buildings up and down Egypt, even in Nubia, in honour of the god, as he says himself, "because he loved his father, Amon, Lord of Thebes, so much more than all gods" (Temple of Mont, Karnak). He is everywhere

¹ Prof. Sayce, *Gifford Lectures*, p. 45, seems to rely on the Tel-Amarna Letters, one of which states that a Mitannian princess was sent to Thothmes IV. in marriage.

"very vigilant for him that begat him, Amon, King of gods" (Building stele). The temples erected by him to Amon on both banks of the Nile would be alone sufficient to attest his devotion to "his father Amon-Ra, King of the gods":—"I have done (it) for the one who begat me, in the uprightness of my heart, according as he appointed me to be the Sun of the Nine Bows" (Breasted's transl.). To honour Amon as his father by building temples and other monuments was a leading motive of Amon-hotep the Magnificent's reign; and the crowning act of that devotion was to portray the god, of course at the prompting of the priests, as the equal of Ra, the original father of the kings. His reign saw the culmination of the greatness of Amon; and it was fitting that in the temple devoted to that god in Luxor, and probably also in the temple behind the Colossi on the West Bank—the greatest Amon temples reared since the days of Hatshepsut,—the god should be exhibited in his divine capacity as Amon-Ra, the actual progenitor of him who sat upon the throne of Horus.

We now glance at the effect of this identification of Amon with Ra in the next reign. Amon-hotep III. was succeeded by his son, Amon-hotep IV., son of Queen Thyi¹ (Tiyi), who was indisputably an Egyptian woman, "born of parents of low, or, at the best, of middle condi-

¹ Prof. Sayce, *Gifford Lectures*, p. 93, before the discovery of her tomb, states that Amon-hotep's queen Thyi was a foreigner.

tion" (Maspero, *Tomb of Queen Tiyyi*, p. xxi.). On the mother's side, therefore, Amon-hotep IV. was quite inadmissible as the successor to the throne. But in spite of that fact his succession seems never to have been questioned, and he did not require to resort to his father's expedient of having Amon for his physical father. In the earlier part of his brief reign we know that he still leaned to the worship of Amon, as the tomb of Ra-mes and other monuments testify; but soon a change came, whether fostered by his mother or not, and he renounced his allegiance to the god of Thebes, abandoned his family name of Amon-hotep, and became a devotee of the old god Ra of Heliopolis, in the form of the Aten or Solar Disc, "which has, by a strange mistake, been confused with the Syrian Adonis" (Maspero, *Cairo Museum Guide*). Gallant but unwarrantable attempts have been made to show that Amon-hotep IV., who after the revolution against Amon adopted the name of "Splendour of the Aten" (Khu-en-Aten), was "a monotheist," "the first individual in history," "the first prophet in history," etc., etc., and his "exalted religion" a really spiritual worship, etc. But the facts are that he only revived an ancient cult, that he tolerated the god Tum¹ alongside of Ra-on-the-horizon, and that the so-called spiritual worship is simply adoration of the sun's heat and power as the

¹ The figure of Tum—an old Heliopolitan god—is the only god left untouched by Khu-en-Aten's destroying hand on the Dêr el Bahri birth scenes.

creator and supporter of all life. His rebellion against Amon and Amon worship was no doubt mainly directed against the power of Amon's priesthood, and was therefore quite as much a political as a religious movement ; but at the same time we can well believe, just because of his attachment to the old Heliopolitan cult of Ra, that he deeply resented Amon's identification with Ra in any capacity. Hence his *fiat* to destroy the name and figure of Amon as well as the title "Amon-Ra, King of all the gods," wherever found on the monuments. He would not suffer Amon to be identified with the primeval god Ra ; and the story of his father's miraculous birth in Luxor Temple did not escape, though he still held by his own Horus-origin, as his new royal styles testify. The pretensions of the priests of Amon in claiming their god as the father of the king met with his unrelenting opposition. The new cult of the Sun, as represented by the Aten or Disc, was in no sense non-Egyptian or Asiatic, as has been maintained, but rather a return to a more ancient form, exalted and purified.

THE BIRTH ROOM

THE room in the Temple of Luxor devoted to the story of the Miraculous Birth is situated on the east side towards the southern end. It is marked R in Baedeker's plan, P in Daressy's, and is best approached by a doorway in the east wall of the Hypostyle Hall, and then by passing along the outer wall of the temple southwards towards the first entrance on the right hand. The chamber is roofless; three clustered columns still remain; and on the west wall, facing us as we enter by either of the doors, we have the story of the Birth. On the south wall is the story of the Coronation; on the north, the Adoration of Mut; while on the east wall, above the entrances, is the Osirification of the King, or the ceremonies at the Sed Festival representing the identification of the living king with Osiris. This is appropriately placed opposite the story of the Birth, as a kind of new life.

The story on the west wall consists of three rows of pictures. It begins at the bottom right-hand corner and proceeds leftwards to the end of the wall; it is then continued in the middle row immediately above the last scene—the moulding of the Child and his Ka

by the Potter or Creative god Khnum—and proceeds to the right; finally, it is resumed at the left hand of the topmost row, and ends at the extreme right. This is the correct order of events, if we believe that the artist copied the story of Queen Hatshepsut's divine birth as shown in her temple at Dêr el Bahri, where there is no possibility of mistaking the order of events, for they are sculptured in one long row, beginning at the south end of the colonnade and proceeding without interruption to the finish at the north end. Daressy, in his *Notice* of the Temple of Luxor (1893), makes the story of Amon-hotep's divine birth begin with the moulding of the Child and his Ka; but the original of the story at Dêr el Bahri was unknown at that date. Baedeker (1908), with less excuse, follows Daressy in his mistake. It is difficult to explain why the artist, if he followed the Dêr el Bahri scheme, altered his plan: however it came about, we must begin at the right-hand corner if we are to follow the sequence of the original in Queen Hatshepsut's temple. There, "Amon-Ra, King of the gods," is seen in council with twelve deities standing in front of him, while he, their king, is enthroned; and to them he probably (for the inscription is almost entirely destroyed) announces in gracious terms his sovereign will and pleasure, to become the father of the future child. The deities who stand before "Amon-Ra, King of the gods," do not include Horus or Ra, because Amon, as conceived by his priests, has now

absorbed Ra, and is about to usurp the latter's divine function of the fatherhood of the sovereign. Osiris, Isis, Horus-son-of-Isis, Nephthys, Set (not Anubis, as Breasted states), and Hat-hor occupy the top row ; they are preceded, in the bottom row, by Month, Lord of Thebes, Tum (whose figure in red is the only original one), and his cycle Shu, Tefnut, Seb, and Nut. Thoth is not included. Amon-Ra's allocution to the assembled gods contains the words, "I will join for her the Two Lands in peace. . . . I will give to her all lands and all countries." The answer of the "company (*paut*) of the gods" cannot be read.

SCENE I.

Hat-hor Greets the Queen-Mother.

In the scene before us there is no council or assemblage of gods, not even Thoth, as Breasted affirms (*Records*, ii., p. 78 *note*), simply Amon-Ra (restored) standing behind a goddess (name erased), with horned disc on head, who is embracing the future mother of the king-to-be. The god's speech is lost except the words, "I give to thee life . . . within my power." He is apparently an approving spectator of the greeting by the unknown goddess, probably Hat-hor, of the queen-mother Mut-em-ua, to whom is announced her approaching happiness, as being highly favoured among women. The nose (and mouth) of the goddess can still be traced almost touching, in Egyptian

fashion, the nose of the queen, who is styled "great royal wife, Mut-em-ua,¹ living like Ra." Behind the goddess are scanty remains of her speech, which indicate the nature of the meeting about to take place between the queen and her divine lover. In the middle column, below the hole, the queen's cartouche occurs. The name of the god, occurring near the bottom of the third column, as well as his whole figure throughout the series, was restored after the death of Khu-en-Aten (Amon-hotep IV.), the son of the child here promised.

There is absolutely no parallel to this scene in the Dér el Bahri story, thus showing that in certain features the Luxor artist treated the subject somewhat independently. He probably did not feel that there was now any need for asserting, by depicting an assemblage of the gods, the supremacy of Amon over all the other gods.

SCENE 2.

Amon-Ra and Thothmes IV.

This scene also has no parallel in the Dér el Bahri story, where Thothmes I., the real father of Queen Hatshepsut, does not appear. Daressy mentions the king, the real father, as being *vis-à-vis* to Amon-Ra, while Breasted makes no allusion to his presence at all. The figure of the god, as elsewhere, has been restored, but

¹ The name means "Mut in her boat."

there can be little doubt that it was Amon-Ra, and not Thoth, that was the original, as the lofty plumes of the former god are shown in the restoration. He holds *user* and *ankh*. The upper part of the king's figure is lost, but the royal uræus-girdle and his legs and feet remain. He faces the god, whose figure Gayet omits, as does also Weigall. The order of personages, from right to left, is as follows:—Amon-Ra, Hathor, Mut-em-ua, making scene 1; then Amon-Ra and Thothmes IV., making scene 2. In front of the god the remains of two columns of hieroglyphics read: ". . . an aged man in . . . within heaven and the great *arit*;" while in front of the king are those of other two columns, ". . . as a young woman whom thou hast named, lo! . . . in this land to its furthest verge, the wife of this king [Thothmes IV.] . . ." There is little doubt that the speeches must be so apportioned, as the two pairs of columns face each other like their speakers. The purport of the scene may be guessed: Amon-Ra desires to personate the queen's husband, to whom he quite openly makes the announcement. It is curious to note that if the king be meant by "the aged man," he died quite early in life as an examination of his mummy showed, probably before his thirtieth year; and that these fragmentary speeches occur in the Dér el Bahri story in the interview between Amon-Ra and Thoth which the Luxor artist reproduces as the next scene.



Amon-Ra.

Mut-em-ua and Hat-hor embracing.

Amon-Ra.



Amon-Ra

and

Thoth.

Thothmes IV.

and

[To face page 22.]

B

SCENE 3.

Amon-Ra and Thoth.

This is a distinct incident from the last. Thoth, who now appears for the first time as the messenger and go-between of gods and men, enters the presence of Amon-Ra. A comparison has been made by some writers of Thoth's function here with that of Mercury in Plautus's comedy of *Amphitryon*, where Mercury personates Sosia, the slave of Amphitryon. While Amon-Ra undoubtedly personates Thothmes IV., but with the knowledge of the latter, Thoth here and throughout maintains his own personality and personates no one else. Amon-Ra is seen advancing towards the left, while his face is turned and his left hand uplifted towards Thoth to the right, as if giving him some commands. Thoth is ibis-headed as usual, and carries a palette or papyrus-roll in his right hand, while his left is held towards Amon-Ra. Unfortunately a huge gap in the wall above Thoth's head has removed whatever speech may have been there; and above Amon-Ra we have only . . . "eternity, Amon-Ra (restored) . . . the Two Lands, Lord of the Sky . . . giving life . . . all health within his power."

This scene seems to combine the two given in the Dêr el Bahri story, where Amon-Ra has first an interview with Thoth, and is then led by the latter, although Amon-Ra really precedes, towards the chamber of the queen. Gayet

adds a translation of the few signs left, which is not warranted by his text.

SCENE 4.

The Divine Nuptials.

Amon-Ra and the queen are seated closely facing each other, on what seems to be the sign for the sky. Both have the lofty plumes of the god, who is holding "life" up to the nostrils of the queen, who in her turn affectionately supports the god's right elbow and touches his left hand. Both are similarly clad. The queen wears the vulture head-dress, the symbol of maternity. The sky-sign or couch on which they repose rests on the heads of two goddesses, Serqet (left), with the scorpion-sign as a crest, and Neith (right), with her insignia, here a shield with crossed arrows, on her head. Both goddesses are seated on a long couch facing each other, and support the feet of the god and the queen. Traces of the sun-disc, horned and winged, may be seen above, overspreading all, as if to crown the divine nuptials with the sovereign approval of Ra.

The scene in Dêr el Bahri differs in some details. The queen wears no plumes, only the vulture head-dress, and Amon-Ra besides imparting "life" to her nostrils places in her left hand the signs of "life" and "power." But the positions of all the actors concerned are the same. The presence of Serqet and Neith here may be explained by

passages in the Theban recension of the *Book of the Dead*, which refer to them as birth goddesses.

The inscriptions accompanying this scene are in a much better state than those at Dêr el Bahri, where, in fact, nothing of the original remains. The speech behind the god cannot strictly be regarded as his own :—

“ Saith [Amon-Ra, King of gods] Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Presiding over the Apts (Karnak) : He hath made his forms (appearance) like the majesty of this husband, King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Ra-men-Kheperu (Thothmes IV.), Giver of Life: [he found]¹ her reclining on her couch in the beauty of her palace; she waked at the odour of the god; she was glad before his majesty; he advanced towards her at once, he . . .¹ to her, he made her see him in his form of god when he came upon her; she exulted at beholding his beauty; his love went into her members; the odours of the god flooded the palace (?); all his fragrance was from Punt.”²

Behind the queen, above whose head traces of her cartouche may still be seen, the following speech is put into her mouth :—

“ Saith [Mut-]em-ua, before the majesty of this august god Amon, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Great Twofold Deity, What is thy will? . . .

¹ A hole occurs here.

² The land of spices and sweet odours.

the plans thou hast formed ; pleased art thou with my majesty (fem.) ; thy dew pervades my every member. Then . . . did the majesty of this god all his desire with her.

“Saith [Amon . . .] before her majesty, Amon-hotep Prince of Thebes will be the name of this son [which is] in thy womb : this is the saying (viz. the child’s name) that came forth from thy mouth.¹ He shall wield excellent sovereignty in this land to its furthest verge. My soul is his ; my *uash* (Breasted translates “bounty”) is his ; my *urert* (crown) is his ; he shall rule the Two Lands like Ra for ever.”

SCENE 5.

Amon-Ra and Khnum.

After leaving the queen, Amon-Ra summons Khnum before him, and commands him to form the bodies of the child and his Ka. The scene is practically the same as that at Dêr el Bahri. The inscription relating to Amon-Ra is somewhat fragmentary at the beginning :—

“. . . all that is in my power, Amon-Ra, presiding over Karnak . . . all that is in my power . . . son whom I love . . . every day . . . [make] him

¹ “The Egyptians, like other ancient peoples, carefully preserved the words which escaped the mother’s lips at conception or childbirth, and according as they were of good or bad augury, good or evil fortune was foretold for the child.” (Maspero, *Comment Alexandre devint dieu en Égypte.*)

and his royal Ka, from these members that belong to [me] . . . create him better than all [gods] . . . the likeness of this son whom I have begotten. I have given to him all life, power, all health, all gladness of heart, all offerings, all bread, like Ra for ever."

Khnum's reply is very fragmentary, consisting for the most part of isolated words : "King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, health," then part of the name Ra-maat-neb (the king's Ra-name), followed by the usual formula, "life, strength, health," and "King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Ra-maat-neb [and] all his (royal) Kas, giving life, stability, power, joy of heart, like Ra for evermore." As far as they can be compared, the inscriptions here and at Dêr el Bahri are dissimilar.

SCENE 6.

The Moulding of the Child and his Ka.

Khnum, the tips of whose ram-horns, but not his head, may be seen, is working at a potter's wheel on which stand two children, the king being next to Khnum, with his finger, childlike, in his mouth, and his Ka behind him. Khnum's hands are over their heads fashioning them ; while the same goddess, seated like Khnum, crowned with disc and horns, that greeted the queen at the beginning, now extends "life" to the children. In the corresponding

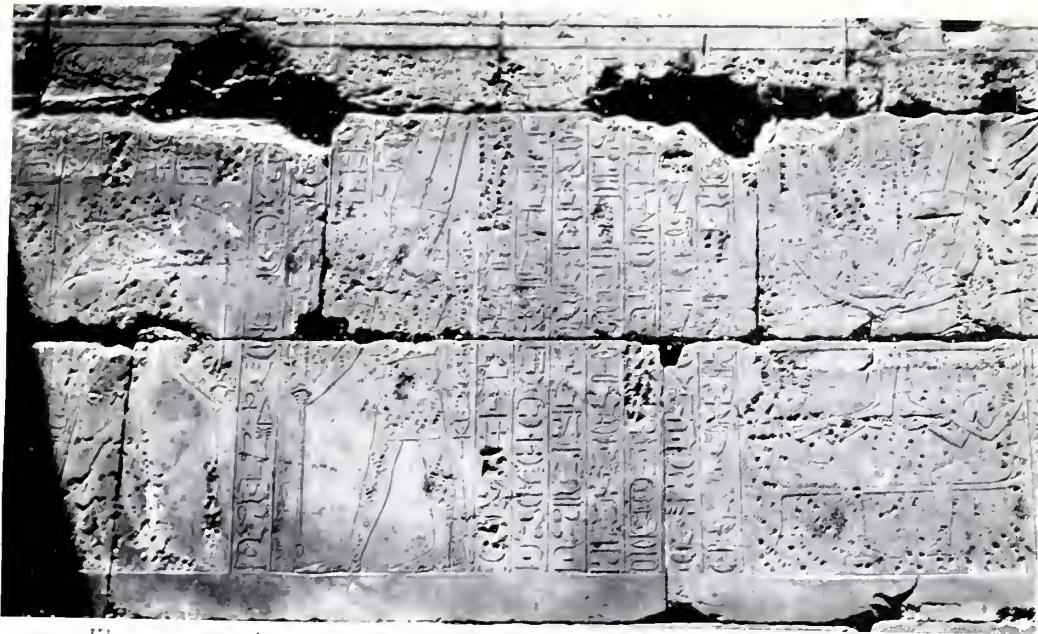
scene at Dêr el Bahri the goddess who plays this part is the frog-headed deity Heqet, where she is called "Lady of Her-ur," a city about four miles north of Beni-Hasan, "where Khnum had a temple with his divine consort the frog-headed Heqet.¹ She was a form of Hat-hor, which affords indirect evidence that the goddess in these scenes whose name has been erased was Hat-hor and not Isis. The frog was from of old taken as a symbol of generation, birth, fertility, and also of resurrection: as typifying the last mentioned, a frog presides in one scene at Dendereh at the resurrection of Osiris, and Lanzone in his *Dictionary of Mythology* describes a lamp of early Christian times whereon is the figure of a frog, with the legend in Greek, "I am the resurrection." The speech of Khnum—there is no speech allotted to the goddess, who is erroneously represented by Gayet as modelling the Ka—is much mutilated:—

"[I have] moulded thee from (with) unique members. . . . Thou shalt be king with the White Crown, ruler of all the desert lands, lord upon thy throne; the Nine Bows shall be trodden under thy feet, thine shall be the throne of [Horus? and thou shalt be] a king like Ra-Khepera (the god) . . . thy members, they shall spread . . . [thou shalt] verily ascend the throne . . . Heliopolis lord . . . for evermore."

The children here are of course males; in the Dêr el

¹ Newberry in Naville's *Dêr el Bahri*, ii., 14.

A



B

Khnum

and

Amon-Ra.

The Divine Nuptials.

A



Hat-hor.

The Children on the
Potter's Wheel.

Khnum.

Khnum.

B

Bahri reliefs they are also of that sex, which, according to Breasted (*Ancient Records*, ii., p. 81 *note*) would indicate that the reliefs were made according to old and traditional sketches, in which, of course, a female child had no place. The learned American Egyptologist apparently forgets that Hatshepsut, throughout the series, is *pictured* as a man, whatever the inscriptions may say. Where are the old and traditional sketches, except in the Papyrus Westcar?

SCENE 7 (Middle Row, Left Hand).

Thoth and Queen Mut-em-ua.

The meaning of this interview is not quite evident, either here or at Dêr el Bahri. It is the first meeting of Thoth and the future mother, and is perhaps a kind of divine annunciation to Mut-em-ua. Thoth, holding a papyrus-roll in his left hand, stretches his right towards the queen as if addressing her; and the queen, crowned with the vulture head-dress and the double plumes of Amon-Ra, stands reverently before him and receives his message. There is no winged-disc of Edsu over the scene, as Gayet affirms. Certain words of Thoth remain which seem to show that Amon-Ra has highly favoured Mut-em-ua among women: "Saith Thoth, Lord of [Hermopolis], Amon-Ra, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands . . . make thee princess, great one of the favourites . . . things . . . Tem, sovereign of all lands. . . ." Professor Naville,

in dealing with this scene at Dér el Bahri (ii., 15, 16), says : “Thoth addresses the queen and declares to her all the dignities which will be bestowed upon her, all the titles which will be added to her name, since she is to be the mother of such an illustrious offspring. This part is particularly interesting, for here, besides the untouched figure of Queen Aahmes, we have portions of the original text. The following is what remains of the words of Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis : ‘. . . in the great dignity of princess, the great one of the favourites, the great one of the preferred, the sovereign well-pleasing, the great one of affection, the great one of love . . . things all done to her.’ Some of these phrases also appear over Queen Mut-em-ua, as follows : ‘Princess, great one of the favourites, sovereign . . . royal mother, Mut-em-ua, the living . . . like Ra for ever.’”

SCENE 8.

The Queen conducted by Hat-hor and Khnum to the Birth Room.

The sole personages here are those just named. In Dér el Bahri, Heqet as before takes the place of Hat-hor, while Amon-Ra, followed by nine (twelve incorrectly, Naville) deities, some male, some female, heads the procession. We do not know who they are. In the principal group, in both representations, Khnum follows the queen, whose figure, like that of Queen Aahmes, is



Thoth and Mut-em-ua.

Khnum, Mut-em-ua, and Hat-hor.

THE QUEEN CONDUCTED TO THE BIRTH-ROOM.

almost perfect, and presents her behind her head with "life," holding her right hand the while: Mut-em-ua, now without the plumes, follows Hat-hor, and receives "life" at her nostrils from that goddess, who also holds the queen's hand and leads her forward. The figure of the goddess is somewhat dilapidated, but traces of the disc and horns head-dress may be seen. The figure of Khnum seems original, and if so affords another problem to the advocates of Khu-en-Aten's monotheism. The speech over Mut-em-ua begins with her titles, some of them already mentioned: "Princess, great one of favourites, sweet one (palm branch) of love, sovereign mistress of all lands, royal mother, Mut-em-ua, the living like Ra." Some words spoken by Khnum follow, but his name and titles have perished: "Saith [Khnum . . .] great, I have given to thee all life, stability, all health that is within me . . . she [goes] as wife towards the palace . . . (a whole column gone) for evermore (*bis*)."

SCENE 9.

The Birth.

This scene, as at Dêr el Bahri, is divided into three rows; the middle part of the top row shows the birth. The queen is seated on a chair placed on a long couch, facing to the right, while two goddesses kneeling, one in front, the other behind, hold her outstretched arms. These goddesses, as well as the others before and behind

the queen, may have originally been named, as some of them are in the Dér el Bahri scene. The Ka seems to have been born first, for he has been passed along to the second kneeling midwife-goddess on the right, who nurses him. That it is the Ka is evident from the name above his head, Ra-maat-neb, in a cartouche, surmounted by the Ka sign—two forearms uplifted from the elbow. The infant conventionally sucks his finger. The infant king has either not yet been born, or was held by the disfigured midwife-goddess who kneels immediately in front of the queen. If the boy-king was there originally, as is likely, it was possibly destroyed by Khu-en-Aten, who would not have his father represented as the son of Amon-Ra. Near the queen's head are the remains of her cartouche; in front of this are the titles "princess, great one of favourites, sovereign-mistress of South and North." It is noteworthy that Queen Mut-em-ua, his grandmother, like Queen Aahmes at Dér el Bahri, has been spared mutilation at the hands of Khu-en-Aten.

In the Dér el Bahri scene a child has just been born, which the mother is handing to the kneeling goddess in front, who, like the three others behind, holds out her hands to receive the child and his Ka. There are altogether nine goddesses in each scene, and though some, Nephthys, Isis, and others, are named at Dér el Bahri, we cannot be sure that the nine here represented are not meant for the nine nursing Hat-hors

who appear later in this story. Their names, if they were ever there, have disappeared.

Immediately below the queen and resting upon a second long couch, are two of the well-known figures with the notched palm-branch of years rising from their heads, representing long periods of time for the duration of the child. They kneel facing each other, and raise their arms like Ka figures towards the sign for life in the centre, along with which were probably grouped originally the emblems of stability and power. Behind these, to the left, are, successively, a man-headed figure, two figures with crocodile-head, and a ram-headed figure, all kneeling and presenting the sign of life towards the birth; and similarly on the right, a crocodile-headed figure, two men-figures, and a ram-headed figure. Naville supposes that these are the genii of the East and the West. In the middle of the lowest row are two large signs, one of "protection" (*sa*¹), the other of "power" (*user*); to the left of which are three falcon-headed figures and three jackal-headed ones, all kneeling, with the left hand on the breast and the right raised up behind. These are respectively the spirits of the city of Pe (Buto in the North), Horus, Amset and Hapi, and of the city of Nekhen (El Kab in the South), Horus, Duamutf, and Qebhsennuf. Thus, as Naville points out, all the deities associated with the four cardinal points are present at the

¹ Dr Seligmann and Miss Murray have recently identified this sign with the uterus and its appendages.

birth. In addition to their favouring influence the grotesque-looking god Bes and the hippopotamus goddess Ta-urt (the Great One), or Api, to the right, lend their sacred presence and sanction. Both these latter assisted at the birth of gods and kings, and their images formed favourite amulets, being held to be useful prophylactics at childbirth, and, as such, passing into foreign lands.

Between the *sa* sign and the god Bes, some eight columns of a text once stood, of which only a few signs remain. This space is entirely blank at *Dér el Bahri*, having probably been chiselled out. Naville says that it "contained a text having symbolical connexion with the birth: it referred to the lighting of a flame or of a lamp, by Api. A flame was supposed to be an emblem of life; therefore, when life began, at the birth, or on anniversaries like the Sed festival, when the duration of the king's life was celebrated, or in the other world when life was supposed to be restored to the deceased, we find the ceremony of lighting a lamp. At Luxor, in the scene of the birth of Amenophis III., there are a few words left of this text, which must have been very like chap. 137 of the Book of the Dead. At the time of the xviii. Dynasty this chapter was written in two different versions. The vignette which accompanies one of them shows a female hippopotamus, called "Api, the goddess of protection," lighting a lamp with the symbol of fire which she holds in one of her paws" (Naville, *Dér el Bahri*, ii., 17). The inscription here evidently consisted of two parts,



A
Attendant Goddesses.

B
Queen Mut-em-ua.



B
The Ka of Amon-hotep III
being nursed.

THE DIVINE BIRTH.

(To face page 34.)

four columns to each, reading from the middle to right and left. To the left we have, “(1) The princess, great one of favourites, sweet palm branch beloved, (2) sovereign mistress [of countries?] all, royal mother . . . (3) Mut-em-ua, the living for ever, she has seized upon the light (*thet-n-s tau*) . . . (4) birth coming forth . . . flame (*teka*).” The four columns to the right show isolated signs only, such as “come,” “heaven . . . his beloved . . . all health.” The last phrases in the former part seem to point to chap. 137 of Papyrus Nebseni, British Museum; but Professor Breasted sees no connection between them.

There is no figure here, as at Dêr el Bahri, of the goddess Mes-Khent, who presides at births.

SCENE 10.

First Presentation of the Child to Amon-Ra.

The great hole in the wall has spoiled part of this scene. To the left of the gap the remains of a tail, such as is usually attached to the figure of a god (or a king), who evidently faced to the right, can be seen, then to the right we have part of the face of a goddess with horned disc on head. She holds an infant towards Amon-Ra, who lays his hands on the child’s knees, acknowledging the paternity. Gayet (plate lxx.) fills up the gap with another goddess holding a child, probably the Ka. In the

Dér el Bahri scene Amon-Ra comes first; this would account for the tail appendage seen on the left of the gap here. Then comes Hat-hor, seated, facing Amon-Ra, and presenting the child to him. Here Hat-hor says, after two destroyed columns, ". . . bring him up (nurse), and love him for (to)" These words do not seem to have any counterpart in the Dér el Bahri scene. The figure (restored) of the god is standing, and his names and titles have been renewed. The rest of the inscription is original, and says, "Come, come in peace, son of Ra, of his (my) loins, Ra-maat-neb, giving life." Note that the speech begins, "Words of Amon-Ra, Lord of the thrones of the two lands." Here Amon-Ra clearly identifies himself with Ra as the father of the king in calling him "son of his body"—the first indication of the purpose of the pictures.

SCENE II.

Amon-Ra takes the Child in his Arms.

This scene completes the last; and we have a new actor introduced in Mut, the consort of Amon-Ra. Mut never appears in the Dér el Bahri series of pictures. The Luxor Temple artist, or rather the priests whose influence was probably greater than in Queen Hatshepsut's time, makes Mut, to whom Amon-hotep III. had erected a temple in Karnak, co-operate with Hat-hor in the transaction, thus enhancing the greatness of Amon. Mut



Goddess, Children,	Amon-Ra,	Mut,	Hat-hor,	Child caressed by Amon-Ra.
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FIRST PRESENTATION OF CHILD TO AMON-RA.

wears her vulture head-dress with wig, and the two crowns of Egypt, and holds a palm-branch of years in her right, while her left hand supports the sign for anniversaries which hangs from the branch. From her left elbow depends an arrangement of symbols which signify "millions of anniversaries in life and strength." The figure of the goddess is a restoration, but the crowns seem original. She is styled "lady of the sky," and gives the usual promises of "life," etc. Near the top of the palm-branch is the restored Ra-name of Amon-hotep III., with the words ". . . son, beloved." Hat-hor stands before the god with hands uplifted in adoration at beholding him caressing and kissing the infant king. The child puts his left arm round the god's neck, and Amon-Ra says again, "[come] in peace, son of my loins, Ra-maat-neb, I have given to thee to pass (lit. make) millions of years like Ra." The whole scene is calculated to emphasise the idea of Amon in his usurpation of the place of Ra as father of the sovereign.

In the Dêr el Bahri scene the goddess Serqet, who does not appear here, and who was present in both stories at the meeting of the god and the queen, now witnesses the reception of the child; and Prof. Naville thinks that she is present now as one of the goddesses who will superintend the nursing of the child, in which scene, however, the goddess is not named, though he refers to the plate which shows the nursing.

SCENE II (Top Row, Left-hand Corner).

The Nursing of the Children.

The queen, facing to the right, is seen kneeling on a long couch, with lions' heads at either end. Both her hands, closed, rest upon her breast : she wears the vulture head-dress, surmounted by what Naville calls a "modius," which, he states, "a female figure places on her head." In his plate Serqet is not named. Gayet speaks of a woman behind the queen supporting her and making a magic pass on her neck, while the vase-shaped ornament on the woman's head is said to contain "le liquide fecondateur," or "the blood of the bull Bitaou-Osiris!" The "woman" here is undoubtedly the goddess Serk or Serqet, with a scorpion, her usual symbol, and not a vase, on her head ; and she is, as certainly, not making magic passes on the neck of the queen. She was present at the nuptials, and now she supports the queen's right arm.

Both Daressy and Gayet regard this scene as the birth of the king.

Above the queen are two cartouches ; the nearer one is her own, with the titles, "Royal Mother, living like Ra" ; and the other, facing the queen, is that of the infant king, Ra-maat-neb, crowned by the royal falcon, which denominates him a Horus. In front of the queen and facing her are two goddesses kneeling, each suckling a child, the infant king to whom the last and the next

cartouches apply. The nurses are Hat-hors, who also wear the same head-dress as the Ra-name of the king. In Dér el Bahri the two nurses have cows' heads. Below the row of amulet buckles (*thet*) which support the couch, we have two Hat-hor cows, with disc between their horns, which give milk to the child and his Ka. The children are seen kneeling below the cows, which look round affectionately at them. In the restoration of the scene at Dér el Bahri the children were forgotten. The most perfect example of Hat-hor as a cow suckling the boy-king is afforded by the magnificent and unrivalled statue of the Hat-hor cow, which was discovered by Naville on Feb. 7th, 1906, at Dér el Bahri, and now in the Cairo Museum. The king there represented is Amon-hotep II., son of Thothmes III. by the daughter of Queen Hatshepsut, and grandfather of the boy here represented.

Surrounding the cows we have fragmentary inscriptions : "Words said by . . . as King of the South and of the North, the living, rejoicing thy heart upon the throne of Horus ; thou wilt guide the living and rule as lord of the Two Lands, in righteousness, like Ra for ever and ever." The words seem to be uttered by Hat-hor, who appears to be called "the President of the chamber of the fire¹ (flame) . . . has given to thee life, all health that is in her power like Ra (repeated)."

¹ The words are *Khent per neser*, followed by dets. of *fire* and *palace*. This seems to be the name of this room as well as of the birth room ; they are probably the same apartment. This agrees with the reference to "flame" at the birth.

To the right are seen nine deities, in three rows, nursing but not suckling the Kas, and kneeling towards the queen, while their heads are turned to the right. In the Dêr el Bahri scene the number is twelve, also in three rows, and their attitude is the same as here; but it is difficult to understand what these deities are. Naville, speaking of that scene, makes out that these twelve, each nursing a Ka, along with the two Hat-hors suckling the child, indicate the number of Kas, fourteen, which a human being might have. In the Dêr el Bahri scene the "nurses" have as head-dress the *Ka* sign alternately with the shield and crossed-arrow symbol of the goddess Neith. All the "nurses" with *Ka* signs have beards. Here the first, second, fourth, sixth, seventh, and ninth have the *Ka* sign, and the remainder have *heb*, the word for festival or anniversary. It is right to point out that all the head-symbols are restorations, and that all or nearly all the "nurses," Neith included, are bearded; whereas in Dêr el Bahri, only the "nurses" that wear the *Ka* symbol have beards, the others wearing the symbol of Neith are innocent of these appendages.

All the children are represented conventionally sucking a finger and wearing the curl of childhood.

SCENE 12.

Third Presentation to Amon-Ra.

The curious posture of the “nurses” suggests the passing on of the child and his Ka to three gods, who now appear on the scene and present them once more to Amon-Ra. These gods are Hapi the Nile,¹ next to the nurses; then Hekau, a blue figure; and Horus, with falcon-head. Amon-Ra stands on the right receiving the two infants from Horus. The Dér el Bahri scene is different. Two male figures present the children to three seated gods. The names of these five actors are unknown. Breasted omits to notice this scene, or the corresponding one at Luxor. Here, Hapi is the Nile-god, half man, half woman; his right hand holds a bundle of *ankhs* (life), and his presence, therefore, probably signifies that abundant life and prosperity will attend the king. The Nile always stands for plenty and prosperity, which does not exclude “the power of growth” for the child, which Naville here associates with Hapi. Hekau probably indicates, as Naville points out, “the magic power of speech,” and his presence here signifies that in addition to material prosperity the king will possess the power of divine creative words. Hekau holds up the child and his Ka,

¹ Daressy and others say, “*two Nile gods*, one blue and the other red, carry the child and his *Ka* to purify them.”

from whose head the Horus name ascends ; while above the infant king are two cartouches, the one to right being the *Suten Bat* name, the other the Ra-name of the sovereign, Amon-hotep III. These names read respectively, "King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Ra-maat-neb," "Son of Ra, Amon-hotep, Prince of Thebes"; while the Horus or Ka name runs, "Horus-Ra, Strong Bull, appearing in Truth." The words attributed to Hekau are, "Saith Hekau: I am Hekau, and have given life to him, all stability and power within him, all health, all joy and heart within him." Hapi, the entire Nile, says, "I have given to thee all life and power in my possession." There was a Hapi of the South and another of the North, and both may be admirably and clearly seen on the side of the throne on which the colossal figure of Rameses II. sits in his court in this temple. The Hapi of the South, with his appropriate plant, the papyrus, on his head, stands (correctly) on the south side of the seat; while the Hapi of the North, with his appropriate plant, the lotus, on his head, occupies the north side. They are tieing the Two Lands (South and North) together, each using a cord ending respectively in a papyrus and a lotus flower.¹ The Horus here shown is the elder Horus,

¹ It is well to note this particularly, because much confusion exists on this subject in books, but not on the monuments, as to the localities represented by these plants. The papyrus stands for the South, the lotus for the North. When an Egyptian oriented himself he faced the south, whence he believed the race came ; consequently the North was at his back ; hence a common



Hapi, Hekau, Children.

Nursing Deities (9).

Senebt, The Mother.

The Hat-hor Cows.

THE NURSING OF THE CHILDREN.

the Horus of Edfu, whose winged disc spreads high and wide above the children. His name has been completely struck out, probably by Khu-en-Aten, as that god was not Horus-on-the-horizons, whom he worshipped; or the god may have been Menthu, Lord of Thebes. He promises "all life, stability, power, health, joy of heart, and all valour that are in his possession."

Below the children which Hekau carries are words which seem to read, "Words said: conducting and bringing Amon-hotep from (?) the Hall of Birth [for] the purifications of Horus and Set." A similar form of words occurs in Dêr el Bahri, where the children are presented by the two unknown figures to the three seated gods. But there is no purification scene either there or here.

Amon-Ra receives the child, laying his left hand on the child's head. His speech of four columns reads: "Son [probably 'of my body,' significantly chipped out, and never restored], beloved, Ra-maat-neb, made of one flesh with [probably 'me,' also chipped out], I have given thee all life and power, a rising (on the throne) as king of the South and of the North upon the throne of Horus, and all joy of heart to thee, together with thy Ka, like Ra."

sign for "behind" is a lotus plant (*ha*), and *Ha(lotus)-nebu* meant "all the back (North) people," a designation which comprehended the northern nations, including Greeks of the islands and other people. Other instances might be given of the lotus connoting the North; the people in the Delta were called the Lotus Folk, Hau, because of the marshes where the lotus flourished. As the Egyptian believed he came originally from the South, the South is always named first before the North.

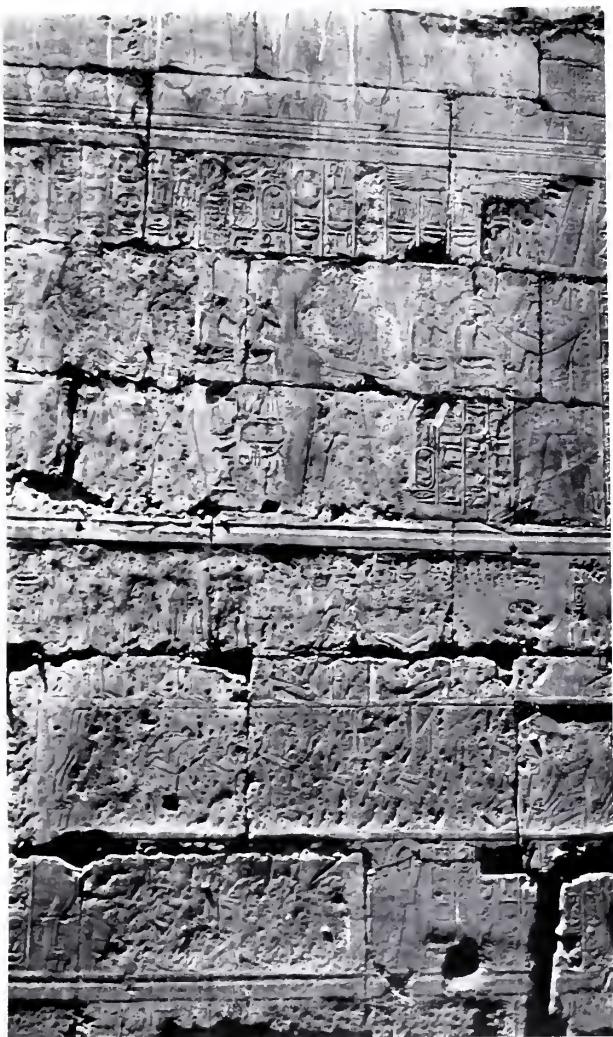
In the usual divine promises above the restored figure of Amon, the name Amon-Ra and the title "king of the gods" are also restored. The above-mentioned omissions strongly corroborate the theory advanced in these pages, that the main purpose of these sculptures is to represent Amon as having served himself heir to the functions of the old god Ra as progenitor of the sovereign. Gayet has in his plate supplied the blanks, which undoubtedly exist, and made the above speech run thus, "Son of Ra of his body beloved"; which would hardly fit in the mouth of Amon. Besides, "Son" is restored, and the usual stroke after the word "Son" is original, showing that "Ra" (sun-disc) did not exist at first, so that "Son of my body" seems to have been the offensive phrase to be disposed of. Khu-en-Aten did not believe that Amon was the father of his sire, though he acknowledged the fatherhood of Ra.

In the Dêr el Bahri scene it is Thoth who presents the Child and his Ka to Amon-Ra, but there is no such speech from the latter as that which we have just dealt with here.

SCENE 13.

Anubis and Khnum, with Goddesses, presenting the Child to Sefekh-abu.

This is the final scene, and corresponds generally with that in Dêr el Bahri. It is imperfect in parts. Anubis



(Top row) Hapi, Hekau, Children, Horus, Children, Amon-Ra.
(Lower rows) The Divine Birth.

THIRD PRESENTATION TO AMON-RA.

and Khnum can just be traced ; the tips of the former's jackal ears and of the latter's horns are visible ; the legs of Khnum can be seen in the white paint. Beyond Khnum to the right, the scene is divided into two by a horizontal bar. Two goddesses kneel (to right) in each row, the upper pair presenting on their arms two children, the lower pair doing the same by two children who are now walking. Both sets of children are the young king and his Ka. A goddess (?) kneeling receives each pair of children. At Dêr el Bahri, Anubis and Khnum and the offering goddesses are present, but it is a male figure that receives the children in the upper row ; while below it is a woman who holds up an inkpot for the goddess Sefekh-abu behind. She, the goddess of records, is present in both sculptures, clad in a tight-fitting panther-skin robe down to her ankles, and extends her right hand to welcome the children, while she holds the symbol of life in her left. On her head she probably wore her usual ornament, a seven-rayed star (flower?) with inverted horns¹ over it, but it has been chipped out. She is often called "the great one, lady of the house of books" ; and her function here is probably to record in the divine archives the names and titles of the boy-king, as at Dêr el Bahri, where she wears the ornament named and is writing on a scribe's palette. Khnum's name remains, but his speech is almost entirely destroyed : he is described as "Lord of protection, President of the House of Life," and seems to give the usual promises to

¹ Sefekh-abu, her name, probably means "seven-horns."

the king, who is also named. The figure of Anubis, as well as his name, has been restored : he also gives the usual promises “and a seat upon the throne of Horus of the living, and gladness of heart along with his Ka ; his sway will be the circuit of the sun-disc (*aten*) ; to him shall the lands of the Fehkhu do homage as decreed by Ra for ever.” In the Dêr el Bahri scene Anubis is rolling a globe before him : on this Naville remarks, “We find the same god with his disc in all the birth temples except at Luxor, where he is seen holding a sceptre [the *user* commonly held by all gods]. From the text at Dendereh I gather that this disc is the moon, and that the god is presiding over the renewal of the moon, which means that he regulates the calendars of the gods. Among the promises which he makes to the queen he grants her “all lands, all countries, all inhabitants of Egypt, all strangers, all future and past generations.” Here we have seen that Anubis promises that Amon-hotep’s reign shall be like the circuit of the sun, and that he shall have dominion over the Fenkhu, a Syrian people, who also figure in the *Book of the Dead* (chap. cxxv.), like the Hamemu and the Patu (future and past generations) of the Dêr el Bahri promises. Above the children in the upper row, over the Ka, we have “Lord of the Two Lands, Ra-maat-neb . . . son of his loins, the good god, Ra-maat-neb, giving life like Ra.” To the left of this are three horizontal lines (top one chipped) out of text, which say, “. . . I am come to be as a protection over . . .



A
The Children and Amon-Ra, Anubis, Khnum, and Goddesses.



B
presenting the Children ; to Sefekh-abu and unknown God.
the Children walking.

PRESENTATION TO SEFEKH-ABU AND UNKNOWN GOD.

the son of his loins, Ra-maat-neb; I have given him all ages together, I have given him eternity, all countries, all foreign lands . . . under his feet." It is not clear who the speaker is, possibly Khnum. Above the walking children in the lower row we have, over the king, "the good god, Ra-maat-neb, Son of Ra, Amon-hotep, Ruler of Thebes" (erased), and over the Ka, "the Horus Ka"—the *serekh* or standard (false door) rising from the Ka's head. Both children are sucking their fingers. The two kneeling figures receive the two pairs of children, and behind them is Sefekh-abu. A little to the left of where her star-like ornament ought to be is her name, which has not been tampered with: "Saith Sefekh-abu, Lady of (two small columns erased), I have given to thee millions of years, and life, and power."

Behind Sefekh-abu stands a male, bearded figure, with bare head; his name is unknown. He holds a palm-branch of years, not a plain rod, as at Dér el Bahri, where the same figure occurs. Here the figure has been restored, and wears a short kilt. His speech, as far as it has been left, is the speech of a deity. "I have given him all stability and power in (my) possession, joy of heart, and all health in (my) possession . . ." Then come two short columns, covered with plaster. At Dér el Bahri the restored text is to the same effect as the foregoing, and ends with, "every kind of offering, all *zefan* (food) that is his possession, and the passing (lit. doing) of millions of years on the throne of Horus like Ra." Whoever this figure is, it

is certainly not Amon-hotep himself as a full-grown man, as Daressy, Baedeker, and Weigall affirm, who all agree in suppressing Sefekh-abu. Daressy takes Hekau for a Nile god, and Weigall entirely passes over Hapi, Hekau, and Horus, as well as Anubis and Khnum.

So ends the story of the miraculous birth of Amon-hotep III., son of Amon-Ra, king of the gods, of his very body.

THE DIVINE BIRTH OF RAMESES II.

Daressy, in clearing out Rameses III.'s temple at Medinet Habu, came upon one of several blocks of stone built into the exterior wall of a chamber attached to the south side of the XVIII. Dynasty temple there, which shows that Rameses II. also claimed to be the offspring of Amon-Ra (*Notice explicative des ruines de Medinet Habou*, p. 12). "These chambers, built with stones taken from the Ramesseum, show in several instances the cartouches of Rameses II. and his mother Mauti. On the south wall may be seen a fragment of the list of the king's children, and a portion of a picture [turned upside down], resembling those at Luxor and Deir el Bahari, in which the mother of the king and Amon are seated opposite one another in heaven." The stone in question shows part of the nuptial scene described above (p. 24). Unfortunately the heads of the god and the queen, as well as the lower parts of the bodies of Serqet and Neith, are wanting. The position, postures, etc., of all the actors



Sefekh-abu
writing.

Unknown God.

LAST SCENE OF DÊR EL BAHRI BIRTH SERIES.



[At Medinet-Habu.]

Amon-Ra. The Queen.

THE DIVINE NUPTIALS OF AMON-RA AND THE MOTHER OF RAMSES II.

concerned correspond with those at Dér el Bahri and Luxor, and part of a column of inscription behind Amon reads : "as the incense (?) of Punt. Behold, in establishing my son as king . . ." which is at least suggestive of a speech at the nuptials of Amon and Mut-em-ua. Cartouches of Rameses II.'s mother, Tuy or Muty, are also found on blocks built upside down in the same wall.

CORONATION OF AMON-HOTEP III.

THE ceremonies connected with the coronation occupy the south wall of the Birth Chamber. Any correspondence in the scenes here and the order in which they occur, with those in the coronation of Queen Hatshepsut at Dér el Bahri, must be explained by a reference to some unknown, fixed ceremonial for such occasions rather than to any imitation of the latter by the Luxor artist.

There are three rows of pictures, the lowest of which is terribly destroyed; the upper two are in better preservation. All three rows begin on the right hand.

The lowest row consists of two scenes: first, the king is being conducted to the left by Amon (?), whose face is turned to the right while he walks towards the left, presenting "life" to the king's nostrils. The face of the king, with the uræus on the forehead, can be traced, as well as his legs and feet; and two deities follow. All four join hands. Next, towards the left corner, a goddess, most probably Mut, wearing the two crowns of Egypt, sits enthroned behind Amon-Ra, with long plumes, holding the child-king on his knee, and passing his right arm

behind the boy's head, whose right hand rests on the god's shoulder. Amon-Ra holds the symbols of dominion and power. The inscriptions have almost entirely disappeared: behind the goddess, in the corner, "the years of Tum" can be read, and a few isolated words such as "thy two lands," "they see," etc.

SCENE 3 (Middle Row).

Thoth before Nine Gods.

The Nine Gods are seated in three rows above the door at the right, Thoth facing them. His figure is almost entirely destroyed; but the beak of his ibis-head can be seen. Two of the deities, Isis and another (name unknown), in the lowest row, have shared the same fate. Menthu, Tum, and Shu occupy the top row; Tefnut (not Amon, as Gayet says), Seb, and Nut, the middle; Osiris, Isis, and the unknown deity, probably Nephthys, the bottom row. They are all enthroned, in mummy form, and hold green or blue *users*. Tum is called "Lord of the two lands of On (Heliopolis)"; Osiris, "Lord of the sky"; the others, where preserved, have simply their names. Thoth seems to be addressing "the divine company (*paut*) of the gods," as they are called here:—

"Said by the Lord of Khemennu (Hermopolis)
. . . a great form . . . made for his beloved son
Ra-maat-neb, giving life, he who appears as King of

Upper and of Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus . . . embrace ye him with your souls, embrace ye him ye powers of the name of Tum, Lord of the two lands of On, chief . . . Ra-maat-neb, Chief of living ones."

There is little doubt that the gap near the beginning of this speech was occupied by the name of Amon-Ra, and that he was credited with the parentage of the king—a detail obnoxious to Khu-en-Aten. Tum replies for the *paut* of the gods generally.¹

"The first gift of Tum, I have given to him all life and power within you (all), all health that is within you, all joy of heart that is within you, like Ra for evermore." Then Menthu speaks as the head of his row: "Words said: I have given to thee all lands, the double valour of the two Horus gods . . . the strength of Tefnut (?)."

Similarly Osiris:

"Words said: I have given to thee a rising (appearance) as King of Upper and of Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus."

¹ The prominence of Tum here is remarkable as a Heliopolitan god, in spite of the usurpation by Amon.

SCENE 4.

Tum receiving the Young King.

This scene seems to correspond with the presentation of Queen Hatshepsut to Tum at Heliopolis (Naville, *Dér el Bahri*, iii., 4).

Tum, the old Heliopolitan god, who is always represented as a man, is enthroned in a shrine, wearing the two crowns; his left hand is just above the uræus of the kneeling king, while his right is under the king's chin. The king, wearing the blue crown, is nude except for a short kilt; his collar is green and blue. He stretches his right within the throne seat, while his left hangs reverently behind him. A lioness-headed goddess, probably Sekhmet, whose figure is erased, also stands within the shrine: she lays her right hand on the head of the boy, holding in her left a palm-branch of years which has the frog and the ring at bottom, signifying myriads of years. Behind her, but outside the shrine, was another figure of Thoth, whose name and figure have disappeared. Tum, who is here styled "Lord of the two lands in (*sic*) On," gives the king "all life, etc., which is in his power," and above the king are his cartouches, "Good god, Ra-maat-neb, Son of Ra (original), Amon-hotep-prince-of-Thebes (restored), giving life, etc., like Ra, for evermore." The first column of Thoth's speech is entirely gone, and the remainder is but fragmentary: "thou establishest his diadems (*khan*) on his

head . . . his titles (*nekhb-t*) . . . in presence of the company (of the gods) . . . the form of the son . . . doing what they love; then they (give) to him all life and power in their possession, and stability . . . in their possession, and all health in their possession."

This scene, which no doubt represents a visit, either real or fancied, to Heliopolis to receive the benediction of Tum, the old solar god, as the Ra-father of the king, affords remarkable testimony to the power of the ancient worship of Tum, in spite of the assumptions of Amon—a worship which Khu-en-Aten made a gallant effort to restore.

SCENE 5.

The King offers Water to Amon-Ra (ithyphallic).

The god in his form of Min, with tall plumes and right hand uplifted, over which the whip is spread, stands on a pedestal. It is an image of the god, who was also absorbed by Amon, whether through the influence of Amon-hotep III.'s queen, whose father was a priest of Min,¹ or through the direct agency of the former's priests. If the queen in

¹ Iouiya, the father of Amon-hotep III.'s queen, was "prophet (priest) of Min" of Panopolis, as well as "overseer of the cattle of Min," two titles which, Prof. Maspero states, appear to be reluctantly alluded to in the Tomb, amongst the deceased's other dignities. The mother of the queen was "a chantress of Amon," "lady of Amon's hareem," as well as of the "hareem of Min," and "dresser to the king," etc.

question was the chief agent in causing prominence to be given to the god Min in her husband's reign, she can scarcely with justice be credited at the same time with having influenced her son Khu-en-Aten to adopt the Aten cult. The two things are quite incongruous. However that may be, we find Min here and everywhere in the original part of this temple designated Amon-Ra, sometimes with additions, never by his own name. To him, then, as Amon-Ra, the king standing, with full wig and uræus, offers two bowls of water, as the words below his arms tell: "The offering of cool water, which he makes, he that gives life." Above the king's head, for the first time, floats the guardian vulture of the South, with blue wings outspread, and holding in her talons the ring-seal of infinity. In addition to his cartouches the king is styled "Lord of the *khepesh* (sword of victory), who takes possession of all lands, giving life for evermore." Behind the king is his Ka standard, consisting of a pole with arms, one of which holds up another pole crowned with a man's head, and the other an ostrich plume; while above these arms is the Ka sign supporting the oblong *srekh* or panel on which is inscribed the king's Ka or Horus name: "Horus-Ra, Strong Bull, appearing in truth." Over the Horus falcon is the sign (blue) for the sky, with the words, "Royal living Ka, Lord of the Two Lands," below it. These three titles—the *Suten Bat* name, the Son-of-Ra name, and the Ka name—are titles referred to in the words of Thoth above, and were thus given by Tum at Heliopolis,

along with a coronation (see above, “thou establishest or settest his diadems upon his head”), before the coronation by Amon-Ra, which is shown in the next few pictures in the top row.

SCENE 6.

Purification of the King by Tum and Menthu.

The beardless king, facing to the right, stands with arms hanging down between falcon-headed Menthu on the right and Tum on the left, both of whom pour water over the king from vases. Tum wears both crowns of Egypt, as before; Menthu a horned sun-disc, with uræus and plumes. Both gods bring their left hands up to the junction of the two streams of water just above the boy’s head. The winged sun-disc of Horus of Edfu spreads over all, with the words “Son of Ra (original), whom he loves, Amon-hotep, giving life.” The speeches of the two gods are identical:—

“ Purified art thou, purified art thou, with thy Ka [for] thy great dignity of King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, the living one; all joy of heart, etc., like Ra for evermore.”

In the Dêr el Bahri series representing the coronation the purification by Amon and Horus¹ is the first scene, even before the visit to Tum.

¹ Breasted says “Khonsu” instead of Horus.

SCENE 7.

The Boy carried to be Crowned.

The boy-king, attired as before, is seen seated on a chair, which rests on the sign for festival or anniversary; he holds the crook and whip symbolic of rule. The whole rests on two carrying poles, borne in front by two falcon-headed gods and in rear by two jackal-headed gods. The former may be two Horuses, the latter two Sets. There is no parallel scene at Dér el Bahri.

Above the king is written:—

“The good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Ra-maat-neb, son of Ra, whom he loves, Amon-hotep-prince-of-Thebes, dwelling in the great palace, the Horus chosen for eternity, like Ra, giving life for evermore.” Under the seat and the festival sign, “All lands, all the Fenku countries . . . the upper Retenu, the lower Retenu, all the Rekhyt, all living people are for (under) the feet of this good god, whom all the gods love.”

The speech of the leading bearers is badly destroyed:—

“Saith the spirits . . . strength, thou shalt be the image (form) appearing with the crown of the South and the crown of the North on the throne of Horus of the living ones, like Ra for evermore.”

That of the Set gods is better preserved :—

“ Words said : “ (We) have given to thee the Two Lands for a great dwelling ; thou wilt see the Father, lord of the gods ; he will cause thee to see millions of festivals upon the throne of Horus of the living ones, like Ra.”

The usurpation of Amon is clearly indicated in the phrase “ thou wilt see [at the coronation] the Father, Lord of the gods.”

SCENE 8.

The Coronation by Amon-Ra.

The remainder of the row from this point to the corner is better treated as one scene. The order is as follows :—In the corner Amon-Ra is enthroned, and the young king stands in front, with his back to the god ; then, to right, are two panels with a goddess standing in each and facing the king ; next, three rows of kneeling figures, in the same attitude as the “ spirits ” at the Birth scene ; and lastly, two more panels with Thoth in the upper, and Sefekh-abu, both standing, in the lower.

Amon-Ra (restored) is seen enthroned, with his left arm round the king’s left shoulder, and his right laid on the king’s right shoulder. The god’s name has been restored ; he is called “ Lord of the sky.” The boy-king, about to receive the White Crown of the South and the Red

Crown of the North, stands in front of the god enjoying the divine approval, as he wears the blue crown with uræus and the short tunic with regal tail. Hatshepsut is similarly attired at Dêr el Bahri. He holds a bird by the wings in his right hand. This bird may be one of the four to be let loose to the four quarters of the heavens to announce the coronation, like the four birds let loose in the procession of Min at the Medinet-Habu temple of Rameses III., where they are bidden to fly to South, North, West, and East, and say to the gods of these regions : "Horus, the son of Isis, has taken the great double crown, and the king of the South and of the North has taken the double crown." In harmony with this view seems to be the speech of the king in front of him, beginning with the Horus name :—

"Strong Bull, appearing in truth, in his great name, say . . . they behold him (then above his head), King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Ra-maat-neb, Son of Ra (original), Amon-hotep-prince-of-Thebes" (restored). This seems to be the proclamation of the royal style and title.

From the two female figures to the right he receives the two crowns. The lower figure represents the South, the upper the North, each carrying her proper crown. The long column of text is somewhat difficult to understand :—

"Said by his Hekau (his 'magic speech' that figures in the Birth scene, top row) before and behind,

I have caused them to see him, I have given him great might for quieting the Two Lands¹ . . .”

The Lady of the South (lower figure) is robed in green, and holds forward the White Crown in her right hand, while from her left hang the symbols of life, stability, and power. Overhead is the blue sky. She says to the king :—

“ Receive thou the White Crown, thou art rich (*user*) with it on thy head, possess (seize) thou all lands with her White Crown, unite (?) her name . . . [Nekhebt], goddess of the South, giving all life, stability, power.”

The Lady of the North is clad in red (the colour of the Crown), and carries the Red Crown of the North and the other symbols, like her sister goddess of the South. She says :—

“ I give to thee the Red Crown, the one that is on the head of Ra, possess thou all lands with the very name of Uazit (goddess of Buto) of the North.”

Behind the goddesses of South and North are the three rows of the “ spirits ” attendant. In the middle are the falcon-headed “ spirits of On (Heliopolis),” while above and below are jackal-headed spirits, the lowest row being those of the South; probably the top row represents the spirits of the North (the name is gone). They all hail the coronation, and each row “ gives all life, etc., that is within them.”

¹ This phrase occurs in the complete protocol of the King.



Amun-Ra and the young King

THE CORONATION OF AMUN-HOTEP III.

In the Dér el Bahri scene there are also three rows of applauding "spirits" or gods. The top row, with jackal heads, are called "all the gods of the Temple of the South"; the second row, with falcon heads, are "gods of the North"; while the lowest row, with men's heads and beards, are called "the gods that preside in the Chapel (*at*) of the North," meaning Heliopolis, where Tum, who is always represented as a bearded man, was the great deity worshipped.

The concluding incident is the recording of the event of the coronation by Thoth, the scribe of the gods, and Sefekh-abu, the keeper of the sacred archives. Thoth occupied the upper panel to the right, but the figure was probably destroyed; it is now plastered over: Sefekh-abu remains, showing the star-like ornament on her head. For these two figures, both no doubt standing, Gayet, in his plate, substitutes two kneeling female figures with the insignia of Neith on their heads, and holding bouquets of flowers! nor does he correctly translate the texts he gives. In the Dér el Bahri scene the positions of the two deities are reversed. The speech of Thoth here is:—

"Saith the Master of divine words (not 'prophets,' Gayet), I establish for thee a great name of Destroyer in strength and in might; all countries shall be under thy terror, the circuit of the sky under the place of thy face, the Nine Bows . . . under thy sandals."

Sefekh-abu, who stands writing, says : “ Sefekh-abu, lady of writing, presiding over the House of divine books, I establish . . . thou wilt be gratified (*sah*) with millions of festivals.”¹

¹ Gayet’s translation is : “ Powerful is the word that comes from Sefekh, lady of that which is written, directress of the double divine house, making sure name and memory during multitudes of anniversaries.”

THE ADORATION OF MUT.

NORTH WALL OF BIRTH ROOM.

It is somewhat difficult to assign the place which the ceremonies sculptured on this wall should occupy, but it seems best to describe them before considering the few but important scenes depicted on the East wall, as the latter represent the culmination of the whole, in the Osirification of the King during his lifetime at the celebration of the Sed Festival.

As on the other walls described above, there are three rows of pictures here. They all seem to concentrate on the adoration of Mut, the consort of Amon, and therefore assist in displaying the supremacy of the Theban god as Father. The lowest row, as usual, is first in order of time. The two lower rows are much damaged.

Towards the right of the bottom row we have the crowned king, Amon-hotep III. (lower part of body and legs visible) leading four bull calves to the goddess Mut, the lower part of whose figure is restored. The king holds four tethers and an upright wavy rod in his

left hand, while he stretches with his right a long straight rod towards the cattle. From similar scenes at Dêr el Bahri, and elsewhere in this temple, the colour of the calves is known, as they are named "flecked," "red," "white," "black." The last two names are given here. The four tethers are tied to the right foreleg. Traces of the king's titles are still visible, such as "portion of [Ra]," "whom he loves," "great in might," "strong in crushing (a foe)." Mut's name is given at the upper right-hand corner: "Mut, lady of the Sky, mistress of the Two Lands," and a part of her promise remains, "victory over all foreign countries." From the prominence given to Mut on this wall it might almost be called the Mut Tableaux.

The same scene occurs twice in the other parts of the temple built by Amon-hotep—in the Hypostyle Hall, and in the large Hall immediately to the west of the present room. It is frequently found in temples: once in Dêr el Bahri the word *husu* for the calves is the same there as here. In the former the cattle are presented to Amon with the words, "striking (*het*) the *husu*," and in the latter to Amon-Min, with the words, "striking (*hu-u*) the bulls to Amon-Ra." These animals are probably an offering to the deity in question, and for this purpose must be *struck* or *touched*, as here, with a long straight rod or mace. It should be noted that in no case known to the writer does the long wavy rod held by the king along with the tethers end at the top, as is sometimes asserted, in a serpent's head.

Of the next scene to the left very little unfortunately remains, and it is in consequence difficult to understand it, as it is rather rare. The figure of the king is seen about the middle of the wall; he seems to wear a head-dress of two plumes with horns. An outspread vulture protects him as he raises his right arm, which holds a mace, as if to deliver a blow; the left is obliterated; in front, at the bottom, are the figures of three men (restored) dragging towards the king the sun-disc in his boat on a sledge. There may have been two similar sledges above, with men dragging them, but everything at this spot has been destroyed; yet Gayet gives, in his plate, the upper two complete, and shows within each of the upper two boats the divine cow couching on a pylon. A goddess, probably Mut (omitted in Gayet's plate), whose feet are visible, stands to the right of the sledge, facing the king; from the fragmentary inscription left, "for thy nose, O good god . . ." "millions of years," we may infer that she is presenting him with "life," or some such gift. The king's action is unfortunately not easy to understand; the remains of the text state: ". . . four times for the *mertu* of those who tow along,¹ giving like Ra for evermore." The same word *mertu* by itself appears at the top of the picture. The king appears to wear a horned head-dress, and the words ". . . father lord, like Ra," are in front of him.

¹ In the *Book of the Dead* (chap. cxxix.) occurs the phrase, "Let me tow along the god Sekeri upon his Sledge."

The last scene of this row is the clearest. The king is cutting the throat of an oryx or antelope, which he holds by the horns, the animal rearing on its hind legs. He wears the blue helmet and a short tunic. Fragments of cartouches and titles, "great," "his *khepesh*" (sword or might), appear above his head; while his action is described by the words, "slaying an antelope (*mahez*)," which Gayet does not give. The same picture is seen in the Hypostyle Hall of this temple. There the slaughter is performed before Amon-Min, and the accessories are more elaborate. Here no god is present. In the former are seen a large stand with a table of offerings, of vegetables, joints of meat, birds, unguents, etc., with wreathed jars of liquor below, all in front of the god; while above, in a kind of double pavilion, joints of meat hang from a joist across the ceiling, and stands of plants are ranged below. The king wears the double crown and the royal girdle, and is said, in slaying the antelope, to "make great his might for (to) Amon."

As to the meaning of these scenes, of the slaughter of the antelope and the offering of the four calves, there is much conjecture. There is hardly a doubt, however, that they are somehow associated with the Osirian rites represented on the East wall, to be described later. There the king becomes Osiris, and now he performs certain rites consequent on the god's death with which the king, as king, is associated. Lefébure, in dealing with the Osirian myth, says that Set, the fratricidal murderer of Osiris,

contrived to get the soul of Osiris, which was hidden in the Eye of Horus, devoured by an animal—a pig, a crocodile, a hippo, or some horned animal like a bull or an antelope; and it became the duty of Horus, son of Osiris, to recover and restore the soul by the slaughter of these animals. The king, like the son of Osiris, performs this duty daily—or, what is the same thing to an Egyptian, he is *pictured* so doing—by capturing with a lasso a bull,¹ or by slaying bulls, antelopes, etc., before a divinity. The animals are cut up, and the officiating servants bring forward the choice portions containing the Eye of Horus (Soul of Osiris), and the king is supposed to say, “I went and found the Sacred Eye; I make account of it to its master; I have cut out (from the victim) thine eye; thy soul is in it.”

There is also, most probably, some allusion in these ceremonies to a symbolic victory over the evil, antagonistic desert as personified by an animal like an antelope, an inhabitant of the region supposed to be under the dominion of Set, the Great Adversary.

The first scene on the middle row (to left) is another example of the king striding, which attitude is discussed later. Attired in the usual short tunic and wearing the

¹ See the picture of the king lassoing the bull of the South at Abydos. One important point is that this slaughter of the antelope in the Hypostyle Hall is the only known instance of an animal being slaughtered in presence of a god, and *not upon an altar*, a practice which seems to have been unknown to the Egyptians. The animals are slain elsewhere, and not presented as sacrifices, in the Jewish sense, but as food-offerings.

atef (crown), he wields a sceptre or mace in his right hand, and holds in his left a long *user* and *ankh* rod. The goddess Mut, who again appears and stands before him, wears, as usual, both crowns of Egypt, and extends to the king a long collar, the beads of which go round her own neck. From her left hand hang the symbols of *sed-heb* (festivals). Behind the king are the mysterious symbols which usually accompany the striding scene; overhead are his titles, with the protecting vulture, who accords him "all stability, power, life, protection, behind him like Ra." The words describing the king's action are partly erased: "taking the *amt* (crane or heron) to the Lady of the Sky, he does it, he that gives life like Ra"; and Mut replies, "I have given to thee the glory of the white crown, and the red crown; I have given to thee the ornaments of the Lady of the Two Lands for thy nose, this good god, as loving his image, lord of . . ." The name "Mut" survives at the top.

At Dêr el Bahri there is a somewhat similar scene, in which the goddess Urt-heqau (great one of magic speech) presents to Hatshepsut's nose the same collar, a *menat*; and another scene shows the same queen performing the same ceremonial stride and offering a bird and three sceptres to Hat-hor. The interest of the latter for us is that the inscription appears to be couched in the same terms as the text here, though we do not know what the king is offering. In Hatshepsut's case (*Dêr el Bahri*, plate xcvi.) it reads, "taking the *amt* to

Hat-hor, etc."—so that probably here also the king was offering a heron to Mut; why, we do not know. As Naville points out, a bird and three sceptres being similarly offered occurs at Dendereh.

Beyond Mut the king again appears, wearing both crowns, which he has just received from Mut. This scene affords evidence of the prominent part played by Mut in Amon-hotep's life. Was it because his mother was called after the goddess? Anyhow, he is here credited with receiving both crowns of Egypt from her. He now advances with mace, crook, and *ankh*, and a long ceremonial staff or rod. He seems to follow a boat (or sledge?), on which a small figure of himself is seated, facing to the right, and wearing the double crown. Behind this boat are traces of another. Below the boat or boats are the outlines of two bearded figures walking to the right, with arms hanging down. Gayet affirms that they are the young king and his Ka: this is doubtful. A great split in the wall interferes with the king's cartouches, but below we have the words: "Appearance (rising) in . . ." which would have told us where the king is. To the right of the split, above the second boat, are some words: ". . . to the boat of Ra." Gayet thinks that this second boat is the boat of the king's mother, Mut-em-ua; but the absence of any signs of a cartouche forbids this interpretation, and the signs left are undoubtedly *r ua n Ra* ("to the boat of Ra," as given above). A fairly well preserved text above the first

boat gives us some clue to the meaning of the scene :—

“Approaching the land to the temple (divine dwelling) of Hat-hor, Chieftainess (protectress) of Thebes . . . divine adoration of Hap (the Nile) . . . the good god, Ra-maat-neb . . . giving life, etc., like Ra, for evermore.” A column of text behind the king says: “It is the king, Ra-maat-neb, appearing upon (ascending) the seat of his father, Amon (restored). All foreign countries are under thy sandals, like Ra.”

The king in the next scene to the right now wears the *atef* (crown) adorned with horns, and set on top of another (?) feather head-dress, with ribbons hanging behind ; and he presents to Mut with left hand an oblong object with a notched top, out of which seems to come a wick or a cord, with a seated ape in front. It is called *sheb* or *shebt*, but its nature is unknown. It seems to stand on the sign (*heb*) for festival, and frequently occurs. Another instance will be found in the Chapel of Mut close by, and others at Karnak, on the Bubastis fragments and elsewhere. Professor Naville (*Festival Hall of Bubastis*, p. 9) says :—“It is difficult to understand how this instrument was used. Horapollo says that on their water-clocks the Egyptians engraved a crouching ape. It is certain that the *sheb* was connected with the measurement of time, but we cannot say how this measurement was made.” If the instrument is the clepsydra, or water-

clock, which was used by the Greeks and afterwards by the Romans to mark the time allotted to the speakers in the law courts, the time was measured by the water in the vessel dropping through an orifice in the bottom in a definite period of time. But it is quite possible that the Egyptian vessel was a kind of lamp out of which something like a wick stands, and the time would be measured by the period taken to consume the quantity of oil in the vessel. Anyhow, the figure of the ape shows that it was connected with measurement of some kind, as Thoth, represented by the ape, was the god of reckoning and of times and seasons.

The inscription before the king describes his act :—

“Giving of a *sheb* to the ground (*i.e.* placing it on the ground), he does it who gives life for ever.” Above him we have, “The good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Ra-maat-neb, Son of Ra, whom he loves, Amon-hotep-prince-of-Thebes [of Amon], the portion for eternity, his twofold might crushes the chiefs (lit. heads) of the Nine Bows”; and Mut, “Lady of the Sky,” who stands with *user* and *ankh*, wearing the double crown, says, “I have given to thee the years of eternity, and all foreign lands under (thy feet) . . . all, I have given all life.”

The last scene of this row is the king before Hat-hor. It is difficult to understand it. He holds a ball at arm’s length in his left hand, while with the right he lays the end of a long straight rod on the ball. Hat-hor, whose

name has been restored, is in woman-form, wearing disc and horns and the vulture head-dress. She has an *user* in her right hand, and seems to be raising to the king's nostrils the symbol of life. His cartouches are above, as well as the words, "beloved of Amon (restored), lord (of the thrones of) the Two Lands."

There is a somewhat similar scene at Dêr el Bahri, in the Hat-hor shrine, entrance hall, east wall. Prof. Naville styles it "Thothmes III. playing balls before Hat-hor," and says, "Thothmes holds a stick of wavy form, which from other texts we know to be made of olive wood, and strikes with it balls the substance of which we do not know. The ceremony is called, 'to strike the ball to (in honour of) Hat-hor, protectress of Thebes.'" The words "to strike the ball" are the same here as at Dêr el Bahri, where two servants are also seen holding up a ball apiece to the king. Naville further says: "It seems from the text which accompanies the ceremonies at Dendereh that the throwing of balls was a kind of emblem of victory, 'the enemies are struck before the king.'"

The uppermost row consists of two scenes:—

(1) The king, left corner, following two sledges, dragged by three men each:

(2) The king seated before a table of offerings, in front of which, as a kind of second act, the king, now kneeling, presents two bowls to the goddess Mut, who is enthroned at the end of the wall.

(1) The first scene is much damaged. The complete figure of the king, with red crown, faces to the right, and holds with both hands a long straight rod horizontally, as if "touching" some object in front. The protecting vulture, whose name is erased, "gives life"; the king's titles are nearly all uninjured:—

"The good god, lord of the Two Lands, Lord who performs things (rites), King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Ra-maat-neb, the Son of Ra, Amon-hotep-prince-of-Thebes¹ (original), Lord of diadems, giving life for ever."

Before the king are two sledges, each dragged by three men, who walk to the right. The inscription above is totally destroyed, so that in the absence of clear outlines of part of the objects resting on the stands of the sledges we are left to conjecture. Gayet says that the stand is an altar on which rests an ox that has been sacrificed, with its feet tied together, as the Osiris Bitaou, dead, on his way to the mysterious region where the libation (*khemp*) to revive the dead Osiris (the king) is made. On this we remark, the object on the upper stand is almost completely covered with plaster, but enough remains to identify it with the object lying on the lower stand, which is certainly not an ox, and there is no trace of tied feet or legs anywhere. I believe the object is the crouching figure wrapt in a skin which we see lying on a stand or bier in the

¹ This is a rare instance of the name Amon-hotep having escaped mutilation by Khu-en-Aten.

tombs of Pa-heri and Renni at El Kab, of Rekh-mara, Menna, and Sen-nofer, and others at Thebes, all of the same period as the sculptures here discussed. In the tomb of Pa-heri three men drag the sledge, as here ; and the figure of the man in the skin crouches in exactly the same way as here ; while in the tomb of Renni two men drag the sledge and the figure squats. All these scenes refer to the ceremonies required to be performed to ensure the new birth which is celebrated on the East wall. The figure of the king, or a *Sem* (priest) personating him, is wrapped up in the skin of a slaughtered bull, called *mesekt* or *mesket*, and every deceased person must "pass through the place of the skin" before entering on the new life; so that "to pass through the animal's skin" was the means of having the deceased's soul restored to him. In this way Osiris had passed by death from the mortal to the immortal life, and the king, even in life, being made like unto Osiris, also passes through the skin. The whole circumstances forbid us from considering this as an instance of human sacrifice.

The last scene is the banquet before Mut, which takes place in the "Hall of Eating." This scene is probably similar to that described by Prof. Naville in the Festival Hall of Bubastis, which he illustrates by a more complete scene from the Temple of Soleb, built by this same King Amon-hotep. Shortly, it "is the apotheosis of himself, the king, the putting himself among the gods, whoever is the god in whose honour he celebrates the festival."



The King following the Sledges (p. 73).

The King striding (p. 68).

[To face page 74.

Here it is the goddess Mut that is honoured, to whom Amon-hotep III. was specially devoted, as well as to her consort Amon; at Soleb it is Khnum with whom he associates himself. "It was the moment above all others in which he was most exalted, when, holding the emblems of Osiris, and in the attitude of the king of the lower world, he was taken to the Hall, and made his solemn appearance there and rose (*Kha*) like the god himself." At Soleb these words are used: "the bringing (lit. the dragging) of Khnum into the Hall of Eating." Here the king and his Ka, wrapped in the skin, are dragged in on sledges, and in the Hall of Eating he makes his appearance in a twofold capacity, as king and as priest, as the equal of the goddess, sitting opposite to her on a throne similar to hers, both of which rest on Maat. The king thus "appearing" in the Hall of Eating in a twofold capacity, has emerged from the skin on the sledges almost if not quite nude, like Queen Ty-ti (*Two Theban Queens*, p. 100) and Prince Kha-em-uast (*Two Theban Princes*, pp. 56, 57), in full possession of his soul—a perfect god resting (existing) upon Maat equally with the goddess who is enthroned opposite to him in divine dignity. His sole clothing consists of a loin-cloth or royal apron, and his head-dress is the simple uræus wig, or the same with the bandeau or fillet surrounding it called *sesched*, which is associated with the Sed Festival. As the divine sovereign enthroned on Maat, he wears the latter; as the priest-king or a divine son making the required

filial offerings, he wears the former. Above him as the god-king, the Horus of Edfu—the name remains—spreads his protecting wings and holds in his talons the symbols of power for endless time, giving the king “life, stability, etc., like Ra.” The king’s titulary above is, “the good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord Performer of things (rites), King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Ra-maat-neb, Son of Ra, Amon-hotep-prince-of-Thebes : Ra makes great his strength and gives life like Ra.” The king ceremonially “touches” the table of offerings, consisting of vegetables, birds, cakes, etc., in front of him with his left hand,¹ so as to make them real, and holds in his right something like the folded cloth or napkin which is frequently seen in the hands of kings and nobles on the monuments. The god-king’s action is described as “bringing together (uniting) the thing for bearing the offering (thing)” — *sma khet er fat khet*. This bearing or conveying of the offerings is now to be performed by the king in his priestly capacity, which he does on bended knees as he presents two bowls or vases. At Abydos, Sety I., acting as *Sem* (priest), is seen “consolidating (lit. making to grow) the divine table-offerings to his father Amon-Ra.” Gayet says, without evidence, that these bowls or vases here offered contain “grains” or “essences”; but they are rather typical of the great table of offerings which stands between the goddess, for her repast, and the priest-king, and which are catalogued in the *menu* above

¹ At Abydos, Sety I. is said “to lay (lit. give) his hands upon the table.”

the table. Over the kneeling priest-king is Nekhebt, the vulture of the South, with her protecting wings, giving him "all life, health, etc., in her possession." The king's titles are of course much the same as before, except that here he is called "the Son of Ra, of his body, whom he loves"—left untouched by Khu-en-Aten—as if to emphasise the fact that the king as priest is performing the filial duty of making offerings to his father Ra, but no description of his action is here given, although Gayet affords a translation of a text which does not exist.

The menu or list of offerings (which, be it remembered, was supposed to be made daily) is divided into thirty-one compartments for the names of the various articles offered. It is a smaller bill of fare than two others on the East and West inner walls of the room, which now contains the Sanctuary built in the time of Alexander the Great; they have each forty divisions, and afford a much more varied choice. All of them are of the usual type, and may be seen on the earliest as well as the latest monuments. The sumptuous bill of fare includes all the best kinds of food and drink which Egypt could provide, together with unguents, eye-paints, etc., of which the ancient Egyptians were fond, especially at the royal table. The numbers, quantities, portions, etc., of the various items are given at the bottom of each division where the "dish" is named; in the top row we find "rib-cuts, 1; left foreleg (a choice 'cut'), 1; wine of the North, bowls 10; water in red bowls, 10; water in

ment bowls, 24 : in the second row, menu (unknown); beer, 2 jars; benben (delicacies?), 1 vase; ashert (something broiled?), 3; mesdemt (eye-paint), 2 vases, etc., etc."

Mut, "lady of the sky, who gives all life, all health, all joy of heart," wears both crowns of Egypt, and holds an *user* in right and *ankh* in left. She sits enthroned on "Truth," like the king, who has now become her equal.

THE OSIRIFICATION OF THE KING.

THE East wall of the Birth Chamber, or rather the portion of it not taken up by the entrance doors, is devoted to the illustration of certain of the ceremonies connected with the Osirification of the King, when he was supposed to be re-born and become one with Osiris. These ceremonies are connected in some obscure way with what is called the Sed Festival, as to the nature of which diverse opinions are held. The main facts which seem to emerge from the speculations regarding it are that it in some way marked a renewal of the life, if not the powers of the king, and that this renewal took place at uncertain periods. Sometimes the king had more than one Sed festival, but here again the period is uncertain. To judge from the promises made by the gods to the kings, the granting of numerous Sed festivals was a thing highly prized ; in fact it seems to have been the divinest gift of the gods.

Professor Naville, in the *Festival Hall in Bubastis*, discusses the Sed Festival. He says : "The Sed-festival is very old ; it is on record as early as the time of King Pepi, of the sixth dynasty, and at that remote epoch we

already see the king represented with the flail and the crook, like Osorkon, when he is carried on his litter; also Pepi wears alternately the northern and the southern head-dress, as it is at Bubastis. It is hardly to be supposed, however, that the ritual employed in the 'numerous ceremonies connected with the festival is as old' as the festival itself. The ritual grew by degrees, as time went on, and probably never was so complicated as under the Ptolemies; nevertheless, some of the principal features of the *Sed* go back to the eighteenth dynasty, and are found at Soleb [built by Amon-hotep III]. . . . The acts which the ritual describes seem to indicate that the king took possession anew of the whole land, and consecrated anew to Amon whatever belonged to the god's worship, especially the women of the city, who, according to an old tradition, were bound to act as priestesses or slaves to the god. This work of theirs was reckoned to them as a yearly tribute." Elsewhere,¹ Professor Naville describes the *Sed* period as "being fiscal in its nature, and its inaugural festival as an indiction date—that is, the date on which the taxes and dues leviable on the inhabitants of the country were imposed for a stated number of years; and since the foundation of every impost was the tenth or tithe—that is, the amount paid for worship and everything connected with it—there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Festival of the Indiction had a specially religious character. As such we already

¹ *The Old Egyptian Faith* (pp. 279-281).

find it represented on the monuments of the Thinite epoch; and it continued to be so down to the Roman period. At this festival the king comes out of an apartment called the sanctuary, then he ascends into a pavilion open at the four sides, with four staircases leading up to it. Carrying the emblems of Osiris, he takes his seat on a throne, and turns to the four cardinal points in succession. . . . It is a kind of second enthronement. . . . Thoth and Safekhaboui draw up in writing the record of the festival. The king passes into the banqueting room, in whose pavilions are statues of a god receiving offerings, and among the statues that of the king frequently stands, and sometimes the king acts as a priest, making offerings to himself. This last act may be regarded as the climax of the deification of the king." We shall see several of these features reproduced in the scene before us. Dr Naville also notes that "the *Sed* Festival celebrated by Amon-hotep III. must have been one of the most important events of his reign. He alludes to it several times; for instance at Luxor, where the king is seen sitting on the throne of the Festival Hall, exactly like Pepi in the sculpture of Hamamât." It is this scene here described which I have ventured to call the Osirification of the King at the celebration of the *Sed* Festival.

The identification of the living king with Osiris is, if we may use the term, the spiritual counterpart of the miraculous physical birth of the king. In the latter he comes into life as the offspring of the god Amon; in the

former he becomes an Osiris—identical with Osiris—by a second birth through death while he is still a living being on earth. Others, all men, might become Osiris at death, if they succeeded in passing the ordeal of his judgment; for the king alone, as a divinity from his birth, was reserved the privilege of becoming Osiris, and of having the “magic voice or speech” (*maakherou*) during his earthly life, and is invested with new spiritual powers. In token of this the god Hekau, as we have seen, accompanied the infant king in his last presentation to his divine father Amon-Ra, on the West wall.

It is unfortunate that the pictures here are much damaged, for they are not less interesting than those of the Miraculous Birth, which ushered him as a god into the world of men. Here he enters on another and more intimate divine life, and becomes in this festival an Osiris upon earth by a kind of no less miraculous second birth. It is not by accident, therefore, but of set purpose that this second birth should be represented on the East wall of this chamber, for it was in the East that the sun-god was re-born every day. The Coronation, which bestowed on the divine being, the king, the two crowns of Egypt advanced him a step further than birth in the divine scale of life—which ceremonial is seen on the South wall, the direction whence came traditionally the political power of Egypt. And now, after being shown to be on equal terms with Mut on the North wall, he arrives on the East wall at full equality and even identity with the great god Osiris in

this festival. Some other ceremonies subsequent to the Coronation are not represented here as they are at Dêr el Bahri, and later at Soleb (by Amon-hotep III.), Gourneh, and Abydos. They may be conveniently grouped round the term Sed-Heb Festival, or the Festivals of Seshed (or Shed), which were at one time supposed (on the evidence of the Rosetta Stone) to be celebrated at invariable intervals of thirty years. Professor Naville has thrown much light on this obscure subject by the discovery and explanation of the sculptures at Bubastis, found by him, and published in his volume, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis*. The anniversary of the Coronation seems to have been held as a Sed Festival, when the king was regarded as Osiris on earth. Here, in the only row of sculptures which are visible, we have such a representation of the king as Osiris, seated back to back, in two pavilions, the one figure wearing the crown of the South and facing the South, the other with the crown of the North, facing the North. In the Festival Hall at Bubastis there are four pavilions, one for each cardinal point; here there are only two, corresponding to the two crowns of Egypt. At Dêr el Bahri the father of Queen Hatshepsut says, in his address to the princes and nobles of the land, after his daughter has been crowned: "henceforth she will be sitting on the staircase (*khend*)."
Here there is an actual representation of Amon-hotep III. seated on "the stair," facing in two of the required

directions ; and to each Osiris-figure of the king thus seated the king himself is seen approaching with ceremonial stride from right and left, wearing the respective crowns. At the extreme right and left he is walking, or perhaps standing ; but here he is seen in the act of making a long stride, which has been, I believe mistakenly, described as dancing. These representations of the king as Osiris in a pavilion go back to the earliest times. On the Hieraconpolis mace, the king, Narmer, wearing the crown of the North, sits in a pavilion approached by steps ; above him is the protecting vulture, and by the side of the throne are the royal fan-bearers. Similar representations on tablets of the First Dynasts were found by Professor Petrie, and numerous sculptures and statues of all periods have been discovered draped in white like Osiris. One of the finest of these statues is that of the Osiris Mentuhotep II., found by Mr Howard Carter at Thebes in 1901 : it is now in Cairo Museum. "The statue is a portrait of the king, but attired as the dead Osiris of Lower Egypt, and, because of this, the flesh is painted black, the dress white, and the crown red. The short garment which confines the chest and arms is that which Pharaohs wore at the festival of Foundation (Habi-Sadu or Sed-hebs), in the course of which they were identified with Osiris and deified" (Maspero, *Cairo Museum Guide*).

Let us now examine the row of pictures. Beginning on the extreme right (of the top row)—as the South has

the *pas*—the king, attired in short kilt, wearing the white crown of the South and holding in his right hand something like a papyrus roll—which Gayet believes is the knot sign, signifying “to rise”—and in his left a whip hanging over his shoulder, seems to walk or stand in a pavilion or palace, bordered with the *khaker* frieze or ornament. This is the “sanctuary” in the Temple, alluded to above. His cartouches and titles end with the words “portion of Ra,” and behind him are the signs of “all protection, life, stability, and power, behind him; he is at the head (the first) of all living Kas like Ra.” This phrase, “the head or first of all living Kas,” is a title given in the tombs and elsewhere to kings that have become dead and are alive again. In front of the king are the words, “Appearance (*Kha*, rising, like the sun) in the palace (Great Hall) as the unique one.” A parallel scene may be found in the *Festival Hall*, already quoted, where Osorkon II. is said to “appear (rise) out of the Great Hall, and depart in order to rest in the pavilion of the *Sed* festival”; and Naville adds, “the carrying of a sacred emblem out of its shrine in a festival, or the solemn apparition of a king in a religious ceremony, is compared to the rising of a sun or of a star, and is expressed by the same word *Kha*.” The remarkable phrase, “the unique or only one,” here applied to the king may find some explanation in regarding him as the Sun for the time being. Queen Hatshepsut in a scene at Dêr el Bahri is similarly styled.

At the other end of the wall an exact duplicate of this

scene occurs, the only difference being that at the North end the king is attired as sovereign of the North, or Lower Egypt, with the red crown : the same cartouches, the same titles, the same protecting signs, the same symbols in the hands, and the same inscription in front. As at the other end, he departs from the Great Hall or Palace (Sanctuary) to rest in the South Pavilion of the Sed Festival as "the only one," so here he does the same for the North Sed Pavilion, also as "the only one."

The next incident on both sides is the striding approach of the king towards the Pavilion, where he will rest in state as Osiris, who was dead and is alive again. He has now come forth from the *khaker* ornamented Hall into the open air ; the protecting birds of the South and the North respectively hover with outspread wings over him ; he wears the white crown or the red, according as he goes to the South or to the North Pavilion ; and he holds in his hands the same royal symbols as before. In such scenes the king does not offer masons' squares, paddles, etc. ; but bears the insignia of his royal office. Note that, as we have said, he makes his advance with a wide, ceremonious stride. This attitude is commonly called "the dancing of the king before the god." An exactly similar scene occurs at Dér el Bahri, where the queen is seen striding towards Amon, with a flail or whip in her right hand and an object, which is partly destroyed, in her left, but which is undoubtedly the same object as is here shown—something like a papyrus roll, as above indicated. In front of the

queen is an inscription—exactly the same as occurs here—which Prof. Naville translates “the gift of a field four times.” This formula is exactly the same on the oldest monument of the kind known, viz., the scene sculptured on the rocks in the Wady Maghára, where King Pepy Meryra is seen striding as here, and holding the same objects in his hands. In addition, the inscription mentions “the first *sed-heb* festival,” which is also alluded to here, as we shall see later. In all other scenes of the same kind, where the king is seen striding, he holds in his hands a mason’s square (?) and an oar—“both implements have the same name in Egyptian, *hep* or *hept*”—or a libation vase in each hand, or a live bird in one hand and three sceptres in the other. Now, *in every one of these cases*, wherever the inscription has been preserved, the phrase used *in describing the king’s action* is either “taking, bringing (*thet-t*),” or “offering (*khenp*)” the squares, oars, vases, or birds as the case may be, to the particular deity in question, implying, therefore, *presentation by the hands*. Here, however, the case seems to be quite different: a field is undoubtedly mentioned in the inscription, and there is no *presentation* of the flail or the papyrus roll; no inscription to that effect has yet been found associated with this striding movement of the king. As, then, the phrase used here relates to a field, it seems to refer, not to “bringing” or “offering” anything, but to the *action of the king in striding*, and, it may be asked therefore, does the translation “the gift or the giving of a field” really represent the meaning of the

scene? And why “four times”? What is the meaning of “giving a field *four times*”? Will not the difficulty be removed if we suppose that the “hand” sign which precedes the “field” of the inscription in question is not the verb “to give,” but the archaic form of the word *da*—followed by the determinative of walking—a word which, according to Brugsch (*Dict.*, 1606), means “ausspannen, ausstrecken, extend, stretch, étendre, deployer allonger”? He refers to *Book of the Dead*, chap. xlv., 2, which says, “they [the limbs] stretch not, they do not move”; and connects the word with two terms, which, according to the det. used, mean either “to stop,” or “what is stretched out,” *i.e.* the sky. Applied to our present text, where a field is concerned, the rendering would be “stretching or laying out, or even pacing, a field four times,” which would suit the case exactly. In this way Prof. Naville’s explanation of “four times,” which seems inappropriate with the sense of “giving a field,” becomes perfectly applicable, “the fixing of the four sides of the land on which the building is to be erected, the king measuring the land in long strides such as we see him making here.” It is interesting to note that the same “open-hand” (without det.) sign occurs in the inscription of the scene described on pp. 69, 70, and is there translated “Approaching the land,” etc. Archaic forms of words were in their place on ancient rock inscriptions of the early dynasties, and as is well known, were much affected by the artists responsible for the inscriptions

at Dêr el Bahri and the xviii. Dynasty work of this temple. But in later times when a field is actually presented by the hand, we have an example at the Kom Ombo Temple, where the king, wearing the red crown and the short tunic, *offers with both hands* the hieroglyph for a field or a portion of ground, and the inscription reads, “*presentation* of a field to his father,” and there is no “striding” action shown, nor consequently are “four times” mentioned. The same thing is seen in two instances in the Khonsu Temple at Karnak, where Heri-hor stands offering two vases of water to Amon-Min, with the inscription, “Offering of cool water,” while the magical signs seen on these occasions are behind him; and, again, where Ptolemy IV., standing, presents a square and an oar to Khonsu, and the inscription has “bringing oar and square” (both are figured). Ptolemy IX. at Philæ, also offers a field with both hands, and the inscription plainly says so: there is no striding. The inference from all these examples is clear: the inscriptions which mention a field refer to the stretching or stepping it out, or its delimitation, not to its presentation unless when a word expressly implying presentation is used. All this, however, throws no light on the question why a field or a portion of ground is referred to at all, at the celebration of the Sed Festival, or the Osirification of the king. That remains a mystery.

Behind the king are two large magic fans, beneath which are symbols still unexplained, as well as the three

half-ellipses between the back of the king and these symbols. Griffith cites the case of Khnum-hotep (Beni Hasan Tombs), who was the “*Erpa* (prince) of the ceremonials, indicated by the half-ellipses, in the Court-yard.” Hall (note in J. J. Tylor’s *Temple of Amen-hotep III.*) suggests that the half-ellipse signs are to be read *ab*, the det. for “dancing”; but his references to the plates in Lepsius’ *Denkmäler* do not bear out his suggestion, which is without foundation. There is absolutely nothing to connect these mysterious half-ellipses with the notion of dancing: their very position, behind and not in front of the king, forbids our taking them as descriptive of his action. Why the “striding” of the king should also be represented when he is presenting squares and oars, vases, etc., to a god is puzzling; but it does not explain it to call his movement “dancing before the god.” In no other circumstances, except of the kinds noted above, is the king represented as executing the particular movement in question. It is totally unlike the unquestionable postures of dancing men and women which we see on the monuments, where the motion is almost invariably described as *ab* or *kheb*, det. of a dancer with one foot in the air, and “cracking his fingers.” Professionals and ordinary people are often represented dancing, unmistakably, but never in this posture of the king. Indeed, it was probably considered improper for the king to indulge in such a practice. To assume “religious dancing” in ancient Egypt is begging the question: no text can be pointed to as affording con-

clusive proof that the king danced. Dr Budge (*History of Egypt*, i., p. 196) quotes a solitary passage from the Pyramid Text of Pepy I., where it is said (in his translation): "He who (*i.e.* Pepy) is between the thighs of Nut is the pygmy who danceth for the god and who maketh glad the heart before the great throne," thus questionably identifying the pygmy with the king. The passage is given by Prof. Maspero (*Rec. de Travaux*, vii., 162), and is translated thus: "il a atteint ce qui entre les deux cuisses de Nouit; il presente les divertissements du dieu, les plaisirs du dieu par devant sa grande place,"¹ an interpretation of the passage which, to say the least, is considerably at variance with Dr Budge's. Further, the solitary example in the Hebrew Scriptures of royal dancing by David before the Ark is triumphantly cited in favour of similar performances by Egyptian kings; but it is forgotten how thoroughly he was despised for it by his wife, in her scornful words: "How glorious was the king of Israel to-day, who uncovered himself to-day in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself!" David's reply was not satisfactory. Neither the indiscretion of an Israelite king nor the so-called religious dance (*khag*, properly "to hold festival") of the children of Israel can hardly be held as establishing a practice of "dancing before the god" on the part of the kings of Egypt.

¹ The text may be transliterated: *sepr-n-f ar-f n-th-a amut ment* (det. of legs). *Nut da-n-g pu abu* (dets. of pillar?) *neter sekh-em-kh ab embah au ast-f urt.*

Over the king are the words :—

“Good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord Performer of things (rites), chief in . . . King of the South and of the North, Ra-maat-neb, Son of Ra, Amon-hotep-prince-of-Thebes, who makes-great his power where he wills to be king, Lord . . .”

The vulture over him is called “Lady of the Sky,” and “gives all health, life, stability, power in her possession.” The inscriptions are the same on both sides.

A small, beardless, human figure, with both arms on breast, and striding like the king, goes in front of him, on the North side; and a similar figure, of which traces remain, is on the South side. In fact the two sides, inscriptions included, are quite symmetrical.

Farther in front of the king are the jackal-standards of South and North respectively. Each is called “Opener of the ways,” which is also an early title of the goddess Neith, a female counterpart of Anubis. It is, however, more likely that the latter is referred to here, for on the South side the words, “Opener of the ways of the South, Master of the Two Lands, giver of life, stability,” are quite legible. On the North side, only the beginning of the title can be read. It would probably be “Opener of the ways of the North, Master of the Sky”; the rest on the North side is better preserved: “the beginning of (or first) *sed-heb* festivals: he has made great z . . . on the throne of Horus, like Ra for evermore.” To right

and left, in front of the jackal-standard, the falcon or Horus-standard on a pole is borne before the king, which promises "all life, stability, etc." ; while at the bottom on either side, below the sign for the sky, is a female figure with hands up facing the king. She on the right (South) is called "Beloved (Mert) of the South," and says, "Come and bring, come and bring," like the goddess on plate clvii., *Dér el Bahri* scene, "laying out a field four times." The corresponding figure on the North would be the other Mert goddess. The two were forms of Isis and Nephthys, and probably stood here on the sign for gold, as in the above plate. A similar scene is given in vol. ii., The xi. Dynasty Temple at *Dér el Bahri* (pl. vi.), where the words "Come and bring, come and bring," appear as the speech of a similar goddess.

On both sides of the centre piece (the two pavilions) two male figures facing each other may be traced on the upper register, while below them, also on either side, is an *An-mutf* priest, facing the king, and holding his right hand up, while the left, as usual, would grasp the claw of the skin usually worn by the *an-mutf*. The *An-mutf* priest indicates some sort of filial service of the dead. The figure next the striding king has both hands pressed to his breast, while the other has one arm raised in air. No inscription remains to tell us who they are. Only a part of the inscription belonging to the *an-mutf* on the North side is legible: "A royal offering grants Horus, of clothing, incense, *merket* (oil): he gives all life,

etc." The Horus-standard on the pole offers the same promises, with "all joy of heart to him and to his Ka, like Ra for evermore."

And now we reach the culminating scene. After the king approaches from the South or the North he takes his seat on the throne of the sacred pavilion, wearing the costume of Osiris, and reigning like him with the divine symbols in his hand. We must not imagine that this scene is synchronous with the last, as is often implied in describing similar scenes. The king is not "dancing" or striding in *presence* of his Osiris-self, as if worshipping him, enthroned in the pavilion: no, the striding is a movement in the ceremony, preparatory to his taking possession of the throne, which marks his complete Osirification—the last act of the Sed Festival. Over the sacred place, the great pavilion, spreads the winged disc of Horus of Edfu; before the entrance on either side is a stately palm-branch of years, beneath the curve of which is the Ka or Horus figure of the king on a pole, furnished with two arms, from which hang the symbols of *sed-heb* festivals, probably four, one for each cardinal point. One arm the Ka figure passes through the front of the pavilion to place in the hands of the king another palm-branch of years. The king himself, now a glorified Osiris, in his white Osiris Robe, holds at the same time the whip of dominion. That it is the king and not Osiris there can be no doubt, as both his cartouches are ranged above his head, and he is "King of Upper and

of Lower Egypt," "Son of Ra" and "giver of life." It is to be specially noted that for the South Pavilion is reserved the full Horus or Ka name; and that in both pavilions, while the Ra name is original the family name containing the word "Amon" has been restored.

Thus is the king after his coronation, at the first *sed-heb* festival, made like unto Osiris the god. He has become Osiris on earth. The scene is essentially the same as on the plaque of King Den, and on other ancient remains. It is not Osiris the god who sits enthroned in the pavilion before whom the king "dances": it is the king himself. Osiris is no doubt named in later religious texts "the god on the steps," but, as has been seen, from the instances of Queen Hatshepsut and Amon-hotep III., they, in becoming like Osiris, were said "to come on the staircase."

THE GREAT COLONNADE OF LUXOR TEMPLE.

THE Great Colonnade, consisting of a double row of fourteen columns, nearly 52 feet in height, with open lotus capitals, and supporting an architrave of single blocks of stone of over 20 tons each, is one of the most imposing sights in Egypt. They are the first columns of the kind in the history of the world's architecture, and are only exceeded in size by the columns of the central colonnade in Sety I.'s immense hall at Karnak, which was built about one hundred years later, probably in imitation of the hall which Amon-hotep III. intended to erect here. For there is no doubt that this magnificent colonnade is his work : his cartouches and other sculptures, in fine low relief, are to be found at the top of most of the columns, and, after his death, at varying periods, were carved, lower down, the cartouches of Kings Tut-ankh-Amon (his son's son-in-law), Horemheb—who transformed here and elsewhere that king's name into his own ;—Sety I., who could and did easily alter Amon-hotep's name, Ra-maat-neb, into Ra-maat-men ;—Rameses II., that ubiquitous scribbler, who hewed his names deep wherever

he did not build, so that it could hardly be erased ;—and Sety II., who renewed parts of the work, placing his cartouche before Horemheb's.

There is no evidence that Amon-hotep III. built either the side walls or the gateway at the northern end, which now enclose the colonnade. Daressy has pointed out that the court, erroneously styled Horemheb's by some recent writers, is not perfectly rectangular—the east enclosing wall being almost a metre shorter than the west one ; and he argues that the reason of this was to allow the king to deflect the axis of the court to the east, in order to make it coincide with the axis of the avenue of sphinxes which led from the Temple of Luxor to buildings at Karnak. The more probable supposition is that Amon-hotep lived to build the colonnade only, having intended to construct a great hypostyle hall similar to that which was afterwards erected by Sety I. at Karnak. To have built side walls so close as the present walls to such a lofty central colonnade would have been a feeble performance for such a masterly architect as the king had in Amon-hotep, son of Hapi. Besides the deflection in question rather begins at the centre of the gateway which leads into the court constructed by Rameses II. ; so that whoever built the side walls and the gateway is responsible for the deflection which that monarch effectively carried out.¹ The axis of

¹ The long avenue of 122 sphinxes which extends southwards from the Temple of Khonsu, and which were all made by Amon-hotep III., was probably removed from its true line of continuation, near the Temple of Mut, towards his buildings at Karnak, by Rameses III. when he built the Khonsu Temple.

the colonnade coincides with the axis of the original temple. Everything, especially the style of the art, points to the likelihood of Tut-ankh-Amon having been the builder and decorator of the side walls and the gateway; while the subject chosen for the decoration—the glorification of Amon—may be taken as a proof of the sincerity of his reconversion to the worship of Amon, when he changed his name from Tut-ankh-Aten (living image of the Aten) to Tut-ankh-Amon (living image of Amon). The great, indeed the only, subject of the decoration of these walls, which in their original state may have been as high as the colonnade itself, is the celebration of a progress of the god Amon from his home-seat in Karnak to his abode in Luxor, Luxor Temple, which was called “the House of Amon in the Apts of the South”—his original seat at Karnak being styled simply “the Apts,” or “the thrones of the Two Lands.” It was necessary, therefore, that, on the reconquest and recovery of the country for the worship of Amon-Ra-king-of-the-gods, the god should be exhibited making a triumphal progress to his most splendid habitation which lay in the neighbourhood of his original home. Tut-ankh-Amon, then, devoted these walls in the “Apts of the South” to this sacred purpose, of justifying himself as well as of honouring the god; and Horemheb, the masterful Napoleon of ancient Egypt, soon after appropriated the whole in proof too of his championship of Amon-Ra, by altering his short-lived predecessor’s Son-of-Ra name into his own, as will frequently be seen later. And all this in

spite of his having held high office under both Khu-en-Aten and Tut-ankh-Amon, as we learn from a discovery made by M. Legrain at Karnak in 1899.

It cannot be said with certainty that the triumphal progress here portrayed of the god Amon-Ra with the other members of the Theban Triad, Mut and Khonsu, in addition to the king, had been an annual celebration. There are only two examples of it known, here and in the Khonsu Temple at Karnak. The drift of the inscriptions here seem to point rather to this being the first festival of the kind; in fact, the theme of the priest's hymn (see below) in welcoming Amon-Ra to Luxor celebrates the triumph of the god *throughout the whole land of Egypt*, together with the glorification of the king who has brought it to pass. The reference to "this beautiful feast in Luxor" contained in the biography of Horemheb on the stele in the Temple of Ptah at Karnak does not justify us in concluding that it was an annual event; and in the case of the Khonsu Temple at Karnak, we must remember that it was the Priest-King Heri-hor (*c.* 1090 B.C., *i.e.* 260 years after Tut-ankh-Amon) that had a similar progress of the god represented, when the power and place of Amon-Ra became again in the king's person the predominant and all-prevailing fact in Egyptian history. Consequently the priest-king, the supreme head of the military and priestly powers, as he never fails to tell us in the Temple, is even more conspicuous in his pictures there than even the great Amon-Ra himself. Once indeed, "the

voyage of his (the king's) father Amon to his rest in the Apts of the South" is mentioned in the surviving inscriptions in the Temple of Khonsu, but it is only incidentally : the figure and the names of the king as "Son of Amon," his power and glory, etc., are the principal features of the display.

These circumstances seem, on the whole, to justify the assumption that the voyage of Amon-Ra to Luxor and back was not an annual festival, but one held to emphasise the importance of the god or his protagonist, at a particular crisis in the history of the country.

The celebration consisted in transporting the image of the god Amon-Ra in his shrine within his sacred boat, along with the boats of Mut, Khonsu, and the king, by water on barges to Luxor Temple, where they were solemnly installed in their several sanctuaries ; and after many offerings were made and high festival held, the sacred boats with their images were transported down-stream back to Karnak, and deposited in their sanctuaries there, with similar offerings, feastings, and rejoicings.

The story of the progress up-river begins on the North wall, west portion, proceeds along the West inner wall, and ends on the west part of the South wall. Reversely, the return journey begins on the South wall, east portion, continues down-stream on the East inner wall, and ends at Karnak Temple, on the east portion of the North wall.



Amon-Ra.

The King.



Mut.

Amon-Ra.

The King.

Amon-Ra.

The King.

THE KING OFFERING TO AMON-RA AND MUT (IN KARNAK).

(To face page 101.)

SCENE I.

The King before Amon-Ra.

The king appears, first, offering incense to the god; and afterwards, before the god and Mut. This scene is laid in Karnak Temple. The king is undoubtedly Tutankh-Amon, whose cartouches have been usurped here and throughout by Horemheb. The portrait, as indeed the whole work on these walls, shows the influences of the revolution in art effected by Khu-en-Aten, his father-in-law. In the transformed cartouches Ra and Amon are the only original words left. The king wears the blue crown, and the vulture of the South hovers over his head as he burns incense and offers water above a large table of offerings to the god, whose lofty plumes reach to the top of the broken wall. The upper part of the god's speech is gone: "[I have given] thy monument (*i.e.* the walls here decorated) to be firm for eternity . . . the circuit of the Aten (sun-disc) to be under thy sandals . . . millions of years like Ra . . . [Amon-Ra-king-of-the-gods] all . . . superior of the great company of the gods, lord of the sky," and he gives besides, "life, stability, etc., all joy of heart and valour."

Tut-ankh-Amon now enters a shrine, indicated by the *khaker* ornament behind him, where Amon-Ra and Mut receive him arrayed as priest and king, with the *atef* (horned-crown), and the royal whip over his left

shoulder. His Ka standards, held by small *ankhs*, precede him. The god has *user* and *ankh* as usual, while Mut, face destroyed, places her left hand on the god's shoulder, who promises the king "valour and all strength, all health, joy of heart," besides giving him "festivals numerous and great like Ra." Mut's words are ". . . joy of heart, thou guidest all lands . . . thou wilt make *sed-heb* festivals like Ra for ever unto eternity."

SCENE 2 (West Wall, N.W. Angle).

The Sacred Boats in Karnak Temple.

Here the sacred boats are resting on their stands in Karnak. Somewhat to the left, near the top of the wall, the remains of the king's figure, holding out an incense-burner and a libation vase toward a large table of offerings may be seen, while a fragment of the great boat of Amon is visible to the right, resting on a stand on which four figures of the king holding up the sky are sculptured by way of ornament. Eight standards of the gods are behind; to the right, with the following heads, jackal, ram, three falcons, a shield, *user*, and the king. Each standard gives the usual wearisome promises, and such blessings as "the duration (course) of Ra," "the years of Tum," "years of eternity upon the throne of Horus, in joy of heart," "valour, victory over all lands," "the strength of thy father Amon like Ra every day,"

“sovereignty over the Two Lands . . . renewed youth to thy members; firm be thy monuments,” “thy monuments will abide like the sky, to eternity,” “the circuit of the sun-disc,” etc.

Below the great boat of Amon-Ra are the smaller boats of the king (figureheads bearded), of Mut (female figureheads), and of Khonsu, with falcon’s head at stem and stern. To left of these are offerings, and between the last two boats are seen ribs, legs, and heads, of meat, birds, etc., all crowned with flowers. The king above is supposed to be presenting all these offerings, not as sacrifices in the Jewish sense, but as food, to the gods in their boats in their sanctuaries, before they leave the temple on their voyage up-stream.

SCENE 3.

The Sacred Boats leave the Temple.

This scene gives us a picture of the great pylon at Karnak through which they pass. On each side of the gate are four great masts with flags fluttering; while the walls of the pylon and the sides show its sculptures—the king worshipping Amon-Ra, Amon-Min, and Mut, and at the bottom two sphinxes, meant for the king, facing each other and holding a jar in their hands. To the left of the pylon the king walks behind the boat of Amon, which has just passed out; bearers carry the

stands on their shoulders; one party is just passing through the gate; two priests in panther skins walk by the side of each boat, and behind is a fan-bearer with protecting fan; and further behind are servants following with small tables for offerings. At the very rear the Kher-heb (a sort of master of ceremonies), holding a papyrus-roll of office in his left hand, directs the ceremonies. In front of the king are the cartouches of Tut-ankh-Amon usurped by Horemheb, and the inscription says he "is making (doing) the Voyage to the Apts of the South. . . ." Along the broken top of the wall may be seen the feet of the bearers of Amon-Ra's boat, which the king follows, on its way with the other boats to be placed in the barges in the river at the Karnak quay. A few yards to the left, close to where the water is shown in wavy lines, we can see a servant, with shaven head, offering incense and bowing towards the right, while a fan-bearer is saluting the approaching boats with his fan, the boat of Khonsu being first, and the boats of Mut and the king following. Incense and fans are offered to these also. In front of the bowing servant is :—

" Said by Khonsu in Thebes : My (his) son whom I love, Lord of the Two Lands, Ra-zezer-kheperu-sotep-en-Ra (Horemheb's Ra-name), this beautiful monument which thou hast made! I have given eternity to thee as King of the Two Lands for ever, upon the throne of Horus, and all foreign

lands under thy sandals like thy (his) father Ra, every day."

The incense burning before the boat of Mut is called "the making of incense to the goddess Mut, mistress of the Two Lands"; and for the royal boat, "the making of incense to the Uatchet (uræus) of this good god (*i.e.* the king)"; while just before the bow of the boat, Horemheb (usurped cartouche as usual) is styled "the good god, Son of Amon, who grants him to be king on his throne, King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, and beloved of Amon above every king." These speeches are peculiarly appropriate: first, to Tut-anhk-Amon on his reconversion to the cult of Amon; and second, to Horemheb on his consolidation of the same. "Son of Amon" seems to be as popular a title as "Son of Ra."

In front of the procession are a trumpeter and a negro with a native drum slung over his shoulder.

SCENE 4.

Voyage Up-Stream.

The sacred boats are now placed in the barges, which are hauled up the river by gangs of men on the bank. The tow-ropes stretching down from the destroyed portion of the wall can be distinctly seen. An inscription on the upper part of the wall reads: "Amon thy august father

hath ordained for thee valour and victory over every land." On the river bank along with the towers we see, from right to left, four men clapping hands and keeping time to the music ; then the trumpeter, four others beating time, four clashing crooked bronze bars together ; next, a number of bearers of standards from which streamers are flying. A large rowing boat is helping to tow the barge ; at the bow we read : "It is when the king riseth like the sun that men and women sing praises." On board the barge the master and another man are busy ; in front of the men pulling the rope is an overseer with a stick enforcing his orders, and another with a long club apparently chastises a negro. A long inscription, very imperfectly preserved, immediately in front of the standard-bearers gives :—

"The guilds (companies) of the crews of the boat (?) of [Mut] the mistress of the Two Lands . . . she says, they raise their praises to the sky . . . at the festival of the Two Lands, uttering cries of joy and exultation as they behold her who is the head of the gods ; she scattereth light over the land with her beauty that is of the gods ; she causeth all the people (*rckhyt*) to sing praises in the morning . . . as she follows the form of the gods (*i.e.* the king) to the Apt." At the end of this inscription six columns present only fragmentary words, ". . . in the up-stream passage of the boats . . . the great god Hapi (Nile) . . . Horemheb (usurped), beloved of Amon, praised of the Horuses."

Barge on river.

Drummer.

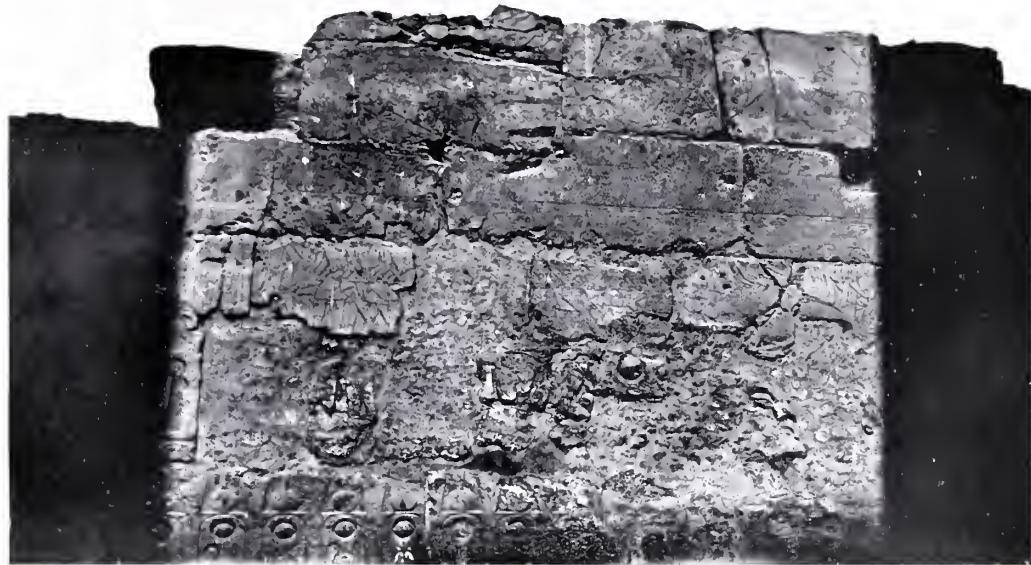


Standard-bearers.

Men clapping hands.

BEGINNING OF VOYAGE UP-STREAM.

Large Boat towing a Barge.



Men hauling a Barge.



Men hauling the Barges.

Drummer.

VOYAGE UP-STREAM.

[To face page 106.

Three or four men, to left, are clapping hands, while eight women (heads gone) are playing sistrums to help the music; and above their heads something is said, probably in praise of Amon, ". . . the Apts, as thou appearest (risest) within the pavilion of thy boats in . . . ;" and another fragment further left speaks of "transporting to the North the boat and the statue of Horemheb (usurped), the favoured of Horus."

Next, to left, are five men, probably negroes, with feathers in their hair; two overseers with sticks uplifted; a negro drummer beating a tom-tom with his hands; three men, overseers, with large clubs; and one giving orders to the workers and the crews hauling the ropes. The long inscription beginning above the negroes with the feathers reads: "The guilds of the crew of the chief of the marsh-trackers (?) . . . the boat, sing praises; they say: appears his boat of Ra, that is within heaven and earth to its furthest." Then follow praises of Horemheb, likening him to Ra in the *madet* (boat), etc.

To the left of the last towers two men are quarrelling; a man holding his hand up as if signalling; another is kissing the ground, and another is bending low, both in adoration of the coming boats; and lastly, there is the overseer with his stick. Two chariot teams, with their grooms, await the landing of the king; both teams are called "the great span of his majesty," and a bodyguard of soldiers march in front. A long hymn, eighteen

columns, of welcome, in praise of Amon is spoken by a priest:—

“Beautiful is thy rising, Amon-Ra; thou art in the *User-hat* (boat's name); the people raise praises to thee; the land to its furthest is in festival; thy son thy heir (*sms*) opens . . . thou sailest up to the Apt; thou givest to him eternity in the sovereignty of the Two Lands, for ever, in years . . . him as lord . . . myriads of festivals, thy son thy loved one . . . he multiplies for thee the . . . thou givest to him strength (valour or victory) over the South . . . and over the North; thou hast made wide (enlarged) the land (of Egypt) on all its roads; thou hast given (?) his course like the course of Ra of the sky; his rising (appearance) is like Aten (the sun-disc). There come to thee the rebels bearing on their backs their tributes . . . their choice things . . . horses, ibexes . . . birds, [there are] not limits to their offerings. Thy son makes splendours in thy festival of Apt in making your (plural) heart merry: the land (of Egypt) exults at Amon resting in his Apt . . . the good ruler for making our repose. Mut [has created?] thy beauty . . . in the protection of thy members; Khonsu in Thebes, Lord of joy . . . grants (?) to thee festivals . . . established is thy name as king; flourish the Horus engendering births!”

This last phrase, addressed to the king, proves that Tut-ankh-Amon was the king originally addressed in these



The King's Bodyguard.
VOYAGE UP-STREAM.

The King's Chariots.

decorations, for his Horus name is “Horus, strong bull, engendering births,” while that of Horemheb is “Horus, strong bull, equipped with plans.”

SCENE 5.

The Offerings in Luxor Temple.

From this point to the angle of the wall we have, first, the bearers carrying the sacred boats on their stands into Luxor Temple; the merriment of the players, drummers, and female acrobats; the preparation of all the offerings in various rooms of the temple—such as the slaughtering of cattle, not for sacrifice but for offerings of food, pouring wine into vessels, the piling up of birds, fruit, loaves, and all manner of vegetables and flowers on the tables; and finally the sacred boats at rest on their stands in the temple. The boat of Amon was above these last, but it is gone as well as the king's. The whole animated scene is described in the words of the inscription:—

“The making to see (*i.e.* the setting forth) everything good and pure, in oxen, calves, incense, wine, fruits, antelopes . . . ibexes, every good plant of the Divine Land (Punt) . . . for Amon-Ra, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, dwelling in the Apts at thy beautiful festival of the Apt.”

Probably the most curious scene is that of the three

rows of twelve women acrobats, who, to the music of a group of other women playing sistrums and shaking *menats*, bend their bodies back till they touch the ground with their hands, and perhaps walk in that position. Their wigs also fall down behind them. Altogether, with the butchers at their work and hurrying along with the choice legs and portions cut off, the scene is of the liveliest.

To the left are the beautifully carved tables heaped with various offerings, in which work, as in the human figures, may be seen manifest traces of the beautiful Khu-en-Aten art. The sacred boats of Mut and Khonsu rest on their stands, and beside the boats are lists of the offerings made for the plentiful banquets of the gods. Above the boat of Mut are the words:—

“ Said by Mut, Lady of Asheru (at the temple of Mut, Karnak): Son of my body, beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Ra-maat-men (Sety I., who probably restored this part), I am [glad] at thy love (?) . . . to see thy beauty; I have given to thee eternity as king of the Two Lands, a rising verily upon the throne of Tum; thy name shall be stable as the sky, thy course like the Aten in the sky.” And Khonsu also speaks:—“ Said by Khonsu-in-Thebes-beautiful-rest-in-the-Apts: Son of my body, beloved, Lord of glory, Mer-n-ptah Sety (the Son-of-Ra name of Sety I.), I have given to thee the South, likewise the North, for quieting all lands among them.” The rest is illegible.

Drummer.

Bearers of Sacred Boats.



Offerings in Luxor Temple.

The Female Acrobats and Sistrum-players.

Servants Preparing Offerings.

ARRIVAL IN LUXOR TEMPLE.

[*To face, pag. 110.*

Near the corner are great standards, with protecting fans, held up by small *ankhs* at the bottom of the pole; jars crowned with lotus flowers, etc. All this splendid array is supposed to form part of the offering which the king will now make to Amon and Mut in this temple.

SCENE 6 (South Wall, West Portion).

The Offering in Luxor Temple.

A gigantic figure of the king, assisted by four servants of the temple, now makes the presentation of four stands of offerings, which he “touches” with a long *kherp* (baton), while the four servants pour wine out of as many jars into large cups. Amon Ra is enthroned, and remains of Mut, also enthroned behind him, may be seen. The offering is said to be “for Amon, dwelling in his Apt.” This is the final act of the visit to the temple on arrival.

THE RETURN to KARNAK.

The scenes on the corresponding south, east, and north walls are the counterparts, with some additions and varying details, of those just described. Some parts are in better preservation, and a few new elements are added, such as the barge of Horemheb’s queen, Mut-nezemt, which seems to raise the question whether that portion of the wall was his work.

of Amon-Ra, with ram's head and huge collar at stem and stern, occupies the upper part of the wall and rests on its stand. Above was probably the king's boat, but it is lost. (The Queen Mut-nezemt's galley, which afterwards appears, was not a sacred boat and could not appear here.) To right and left of the stand are small tables, etc., of offerings, some of which are crowned with an object like a **T**-square. Below the god's boat are the sacred boats of Mut and Khonsu (to right), also on their stands and surrounded by similar tables of offerings, but without the **T**-square.

The king is seen pouring three libations of water, and offers incense to all the boats, as is indicated by the inscription. A great table of offerings is beneath. Notice a large upright post which stands between the king and the boats: it is the front of the sanctuary in which the boats repose. Below the king's feet is a great collection of offerings of various kinds, among which may be observed six models of obelisks. The mutilated inscriptions applying to the boats of Mut and Khonsu again show the names of Sety I., as on the opposite side. Mut says: "I am thy mother, who created thy beauty, and gave thee birth, to make thee a prince. I have given thee . . . the years of Tum."

Behind (to left) of the king is the Temple gate, with its sculptures, through which he passes after making the above offerings. Below is a smaller gate, upon which a Coptic cross has been cut. A headless figure of the

king, who has now emerged from the temple, walks to the left, doubtless behind the boat of Amon. In front were servants; below are the bearers with the boat of Mut; and at the bottom are butchers slaughtering oxen, as on the other side, for the farewell offerings that have just been made. These preparations are continued on the lower register on the other side of the broken doorway. To the left of the last butchers an overseer is remonstrating with them.

Above this scene is the boat of Khonsu being carried along. He calls the king "his beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands, Horemheb (usurped)." A fan-bearer holds a fan above the head of Khonsu, and to the left of the fan-bearer is a priest offering incense to the boat. His head is turned towards it, but he walks to the left. Above these are two other figures probably offering incense or fans to the boat above (destroyed).

SCENE 3.

The Return Voyage.

The sacred boats are now placed, with their stands, on the barges in the river, and the procession on land again begins. On the upper register is the great barge of Mut, on which, amidships, stands the shrine containing the sacred boat with the image of the goddess within. A double frieze of cobra-heads surmounts both boat and

The King leaves Luxor Temple.



offering to Sacred Boats in Luxor.



shrine, while over all the vulture of the South spreads her protecting wings. She is named Nekhebt, and the Horus of Edfu is also named. Immediately to the right of the shrine is a mutilated image of a king, who is called "the good god, Ra-maat-neb (?)," probably Amon-hotep III. Three fan-bearers or servants follow. Two large steering-oars are near the *pōp*, on which is a beautifully carved female head representing Mut with horns and disc.

In front of the shrine, abaft the figurehead on the prow (destroyed), is a sphinx-figure, a standard representing the king, behind which is the king using a steering-oar. Close to the shrine is another figure or image of the king, making offerings to the shrine. On the bow of the barge is a sacred eye. Above the shrine of Mut she is called "Lady of Asheru, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the gods"; and to left and right of the shrine are columns of inscription, mutilated in parts, to the following effect:—

[“Said by Mut, Lady of Ashe]ru: My son, of my body, beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Ra, . . . thy mother created thy beauty, I have nourished thee, thou . . . I have set thy fear on the Nine Bows, and thy terror on the Anu Setit.¹ My mace is over their heads, strikes terror into . . . their bodies (?) . . . like the only one among the favoured. Beautiful is this building which thou hast made.”

¹ The Nine Bows, an old term for the aborigines of the South (Sudan), and the Anu Setit, a similar name for the Anu of Nubia. The name Anu was a generic name for the peoples of Egypt proper. There were other Anu as well. (Naville.)

The figures of the king using the oar and offering to the shrine, in the forepart of the barge, are meant for Horemheb, as the usurped cartouches show. He is said

“to be making the journey by water to his father . . . and Mut, lady of the sky, at their chief festival . . . following the lord of the gods in his festival of . . .”

Above the vulture with outspread wings, at the top of the wall, are the remains of a towing-boat.

Below the boat of Mut we have the rear of the river-bank procession going down-stream. Consequently there are now no towers hauling ropes; all the barges containing the sacred boats are towed by rowing boats; the first towing-ropes are seen to the left, above the bow of Mut's boat. The procession on land is as varied and lively as that on the opposite side. Immediately below, where the water begins, to the right, we have a shaven-headed scribe looking back to see that everything has been put on board, and holding up in his right hand the threatening whip of the taskmaster, while in his left he has his scribe's palette and ink-pot. Above him is an inscription which refers to the priest who is offering incense, “purifying the way before the front of the god, twice pure.” To the scribe's left is a drummer bearing his drum slung from his shoulder. In front five men with shaven heads are singing and beating time with their hands; then four others, with feathers in their hair, are jangling crooked bronzes together; all these follow three men, with full



Procession on land.

Drummer, Scribe.

Great Barge with Sacred Boat of Mut.

Fan-bearers and Bearers of Boats.



Procession on land.

Drummer, Scribe, Taskmaster,

Servants in Temple.

VOYAGE DOWN-STREAM.

wigs, playing stringed lutes, who are called “praisers of the valour (?) . . .” while the others are styled “Chanters before the front of this august god Amon, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.” A company of seven men carrying standards on poles over their shoulders precede the last; then three with large clubs, and four soldiers heavily armed with spear, axe, and shield. The captain of the guard at their head looks back at his men, with baton over his shoulder; then more standard-bearers and soldiers, all in rapid motion forward, to the left, down-stream. Two towing-ropes come down from the left to the barge of Mut from two rowing-boats, one in each of the upper registers.

A long inscription immediately below the water at this point, beginning near the queen's boat with an allusion to the “Companies of the travellers,” records their acclamations of the king, who, they say, is “conducting the god Amon in his voyage to his seats in the Apts in his festival at the *beginning of the year*.” The last expression seems to indicate that the festival was held at the Egyptian New Year, probably at the first of the inundation.

SCENE 4.

Queen Mut-nezemt's Galley.

Immediately ahead of the barge of Mut is the great galley of Queen Mut-nezemt, Consort of Horemheb.

It is propelled by eighteen rowers a side, with a master amidships. A splendid pavilion with a double frieze of cobra-heads occupies nearly the whole length of the boat; and at bow and stern is a small shrine or canopy with a cobra frieze, on the sides of which pictures of the king smiting an enemy are displayed. The great steering-oars come between the poop and the queen's pavilion. She is nowhere visible. On either side of the pavilion several columns of hieroglyphics, some in a very bad condition, tell us that here we have

“the hereditary *Erpat* (princess), great lady, sweet palm-branch, beloved of South and North, pure . . . possessing the sistrum of the god in . . . love . . . rising of Horus [here five small columns are illegible]. . . . Mut-nezemt . . . on the journey to [Mut] lady of the sky, in her beautiful festival of the Apt.”

This is interesting, as it is one of the few places where this queen's name is mentioned. It occurs also on the group in Turin Museum representing Horemheb and his consort, where, on the side of her throne she is shown as a sphinx —a rare instance of a woman being so represented. It would appear from the biographical inscription on that statue that Nezemt, who is believed to have been the sister of Khu-en-Aten's queen and a princess in her own right, was not married to Horemheb until his accession. She must have been over fifty years of age, and as old as Horemheb at the time of the marriage, which was probably

Queen Mut-Nezemi's Gallery.

Towing Boat and Great Barge with Sacred Boat of Min.



Procession on Land.

VOYAGE DOWN-STREAM,

Primum, Scilicet,

l'In face p. 111, 118.

contracted in order to legalise his position, as he had no claim to the throne by birth. The marriage is described briefly in the Turin inscription as taking place at Amon's

"beautiful feast in the Apt of the South (Luxor).

Amon saw the majesty of this god, Horus, lord of Hat-suten, his son being with him as king, in the royal entry, to give to him his office and his throne. Then, behold, Amon-Ra met him in rejoicing. In the day of giving his satisfaction (offering) he conveyed himself to his chief heir and prince¹ hereditary of both lands, Horemheb : he went to the palace, going before him to the palace of his august eldest daughter . . . [she made] obeisance, she embraced his beauty, she placed herself before him, and the company of all the gods of the Chamber of Fire² rejoiced over his appearing (viz.), Nekhebt, Uatchet, Neith, Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Set, the company of gods that preside over the great throne rejoiced, etc. . . . After the feast in Luxor was finished, Amon, king of the gods, returned in peace to Thebes, and his Majesty sailed [to Karnak] as the image of Horus-on-the-horizons."

Here we have the very scene displayed ; the marriage, the addition of the royal bride's galley to the flotilla sailing

¹ Horemheb was "a descendant of an old nomarchical house at Alabastron-polis," became a favourite of both Khu-en-Aten and Tut-ankh-Amon, and finally, by passionately embracing the Amon Cult, succeeded in seizing the throne.

² The Nuptial or Birth Room, see above.

down-stream ; and Horemheb (originally Tut-ankh-Amon) figuring as Horus-on-the-horizons. The queen's galley is preceded by a smaller one, filled with bouquets of flowers. We can well believe that these boats were added afterwards by Horemheb. Near the bow is a canopy with a sphinx figure of the king ; and behind is a man bearing, with some difficulty, a large built-up bouquet on his shoulder. The flower-boat is propelled by rowers, and the procession on the bank holds high revelry.

Below the bow of the queen's galley is a long inscription, similar to one on the opposite side, describing the land party, but of course making no allusion to men hauling ropes.

SCENE 5.

The Great Barge of Amon.

It now appears on the left. Of course it is really the head of the procession, and is preceded by large rowing-boats towing it. The king's and Khonsu's boats were no doubt on the upper part of the wall. Amidships on the barge rests the stand with the sacred boat of Amon ; and along the sides of the barge are sculptured representations of the king offering to Amon and Amon-Min. Unfortunately the ram's heads at bow and stern are lost, but there can be no doubt that it is Amon's barge, for the ram's head is visible on the sacred boat which it contains. Under the bearing poles of the sacred boat, on the right, are the

The 37-oured Barge.



VOYAGE DOWN-STREAM.

various standards already mentioned, while to the left are stands of offerings. Towards the bow, on the left, is a small shrine with an incense-burning censer. But the remarkable feature of the picture is a statue of Amen-hotep III. standing behind the shrine which contains the sacred boat ; he wears the blue crown, and holds the *heq* or crook of kingship in his right hand across his breast, while the left hand holds an *ankh*. This is the deified founder of the temple, the child whose father was Amon-Ra, the triumphant vindicator of the Theban god's hegemony, whom Tut-ankh-Amon (or Horemheb), another champion of Amon's supremacy, places in the sacred boat of the god as his beloved son. Behind Amon-hotep III.'s statue are two magical protecting fans, and a train of nobles and priests in attendance on the image of the deified king. Then, at the poop of the barge, we have two steersmen managing the steering-oars. The inscription in front of the god-king is :—

“ Following the god in the festival of the Apt . . . Ra-maat-neb, giving life.” The cartouche is quite clearly original ; so also is the inscription above : “ . . . [Amon] King of the gods, Lord of the sky, (his) beloved, Ra-maat-neb . . . Amon-hotep-prince-of-Thebes, giving life like Ra for evermore . . . protection, health, etc., behind him.”

The small shrine near the bow of the barge, and outside of the great shrine, in which stood the sacred boat, no doubt contained an image of Amon to which the

king is burning incense, for above the shrine are the remains of the titles of Amon-Ra and his promises to the king of "joy of heart, etc." Just in front of the bow of the great towing-boat, with its thirty-seven oars, is a fragment of inscription, which tells of "the rejoicers on land at the festival in Thebes of the *pwat* (company) of the gods of Thebes . . . Hor-em-heb (usurped: the cartouche is preceded by three feathers) . . . as he journeys to his father Amon to the sky (restored) in the Apt."¹

Below is a succession of men, in twos, clapping hands and singing; the scanty remains of a group of women in front making merry with sistrus as they all march along the bank, acclaiming Amon-Ra at his "beautiful festival in the Apt." And so the exulting procession goes on; we see heads of standard-bearers, legs of soldiers, and the two chariots of the king waiting his landing near Karnak with the same inscription as before above them: "the span of his majesty"; then fan-bearers in front, more standard-bearers, legs and feet of men eagerly running forward, then spearmen, and a sharp altercation between a soldier and his leader. To left of these a group of negroes facing the boats are capering and dancing; each has a curious tail, ending in a sort of tuft, hanging behind from his waist.

The bodyguard and the standard-bearers of the king now hurry forward to the front, and another squabble

¹ The third court at Karnak Temple, in which the statue of the god reposed, was called "Heaven" or "the Sky."

Sacred Boat.

Statue of Amon-hotep III.

The Flower Boat.



Sistrum Players.

Men singing and clapping hands.

Standard-bearers.

THE GREAT BARGE OF AMON-RA WITH HIS SACRED BOAT.

[To face page 122.



Voyage Down-Stream.

takes place : these and the other disputants had probably some wine at the festival in Luxor.

The landing of the sacred boats is now effected : the king's boat has just stopped ; the poling-man at the bow looks back to the look-out man in the little cabin near him ; and the bearers are seen with the shrines on their shoulders. Above, the butchering of cattle has already begun for the offerings and feasting in Karnak. Above the last boat, to the left, is a carcase of an ox, and, to right, are the feet of the priest or fan-bearer, who looks towards the approaching boats. At the bow of the last boat, behind the man poling, is a small cobra-frieze shrine, with a figure of the king and a kneeling captive before him, sculptured on it ; while behind is the protecting fan, below a parallelogram on which a cross has been traced in later days. The boat behind has also a man sounding with his pole at the bow, and behind is a shrine with a double frieze, on the side of which is a figure of the king, with the usual fan at his back. There are at least four rowing-boats, if not five, including the one with thirty-seven rowers.

SCENE 6.

The Sacred Boats taken into Karnak.

The upper part of the wall, now totally gone, probably showed the boat of Amon—the feet of its bearers, moving to the left towards the temple pylon, can still be seen.

Directly in front of these is a drummer, behind whom an *uab* (purifying) priest, facing the approaching boat but moving towards the pylon, pours a libation of water, holding at the same time his scribe's ink-pot. Under the row of feet are the three boats of Khonsu, Mut, and the king being carried in the procession by numerous bearers. Two priests, one with a censer, walk backwards before the first boat, and immediately below is a large figure of a priest holding up a huge fan over the figurehead of Khonsu (falcon) at the bow. The god in the boat makes the usual promises : "eternity as king, joy of heart, victory, etc." Behind the shrine in the boat there is another protecting fan ; and, as usual, at the side of the shrine walk two attendant priests in their official skins. The boat of Mut comes next, with the usual paraphernalia of incense-burning, fans, feathers, bearers, and priests. She is called, as before, "great lady of Asheru, mistress of all the gods," and grants to Horemheb (usurped) "millions of *sed-heb* festivals." The king's sacred boat comes last. His cartouches (usurped) are in front of the shrine ; and a small fan is behind it, with the signs of magical protection. All below the king's boat is destroyed.

The great pylon of the temple—the pylon built by Amon-hotep III.¹ at Karnak—is now visible on the left, the counterpart of the scene on the opposite wall, with its four tall masts on either wing, fixed in their places

¹ On the North wing of this Pylon an enormous Sacred Boat of Amon is sculptured, with Amon-hotep III. steering it.



A Squabble.

Voyage Down-Stream.



VOYAGE DOWN-STREAM.
The King's Chariots.

near the top by bronze clamps ; and on either side is an obelisk. The gateway is shown sculptured with figures of the king before Amon and Amon-Min, and to counteract this a Christian cross was traced in early times just above where the procession of musicians is about to enter. At the end of the procession and just in front of the boats are two men carrying huge bouquets of flowers ; and beneath, several fat, splay-footed oxen gaily bedecked with flowers are being led to the slaughter, for the feast.

Inside the temple the sacred boats on their stands are deposited in their sanctuaries, in the same order in which they were carried in, the great boat of Amon-Ra, however, being taken in first. It occupies the extreme left position, the ram's head of Amon on the bow being very close to the corner of the wall. The mutilated figure of the king, now within the sanctuary, pouring a double stream of water over the boat of Amon, may still be seen a few feet to the left of the pylon. The water falls down near the angle of the wall. Over his head hovers his protecting vulture-goddess. Just below his feet, which really means in Egyptian perspective, that he is standing on the far side, is the king's sacred boat resting on its stand ; and to right and left of it are the paraphernalia of offerings, etc., there being no fewer than ten stands in two rows.

The shrine of the boat of Amon is decorated on the outside with figures of the goddess Maat (Truth) with

outstretched wings, like those which the O.T. calls “the wings of the cherubims” that covered the Ark of the Israelites. On the right of the shrine is a small figure of the king acting the part of fan-bearer to the god; while behind, at the poop, he holds the rope-ends of the steering-oar. Round the top of Amon’s boat is the god’s speech (mutilated) to the king for all his exertions. He addresses Horemheb (usurped) :—

“Thou hast caused me to receive all thy offerings . . . thy name shall abide like the sky, thy duration (course) like the Aten (sun-disc) . . . I have given thee all lands under thy sandals . . . the duration of Ra and the years of Tum, the double-strength of Horus in thy two arms, the might of Menthu, and vigour in thy members for ever (twice repeated).”

The same eight sacred standards already seen are placed on the left side of the boat-stand, each with the same wearisome promises to the king for all his pious acts.

Beneath are the boats of Khonsu, Mut, and the king, and beside them are the lists of the offerings made to each. Mut specially says that for

“the beautiful monument which Horemheb (usurped cartouche) has made she gives him life, stability, etc., as a *reward* (*asu*) for it.”



Capeing Negroes; a squalle.

END OF VOYAGE DOWN-STREAM.

The Pylon of the Temple.



Oxen to be slaughtered for the Feast.

ARRIVAL AT KARNAK.

The King.



OFFERINGS IN KARNAK.

[To face page 126.



The King offering incense and water to Amon-Ra.
FINAL OFFERINGS IN KARNAK.

SCENE 7 (North Wall, East Portion).

This is the final scene, the king making offerings to Amon-Ra and Mut, the counterpart of the scene on the other portion of the North wall. It consists, like it, of two parts, (1) the king adoring Amon-Ra and Mut, and (2) the king offering incense and water from a triple vase to Amon-Ra. The king in both instances is most probably Tut-ankh-Amon; the figure to the left is a pleasing instance of the Khu-en-Aten art.

The inner part of this double scene is really the sequel of the outer, which we shall take first, as the exact parallel of the one across the doorway. The fine figure of the king is shown offering incense and a triple libation of water to Amon-Ra, whose face is chipped. The cartouches of the king are Tut-ankh-Amon's changed, where change was necessary, into Horemheb's. Above him is the Nekhebt vulture of the South, giving him "protection, life, etc., like Ra." The action of the king is described in front of him, "the offering of incense and water to Amon-Ra, done by the giver of life." The god, behind whose plumes are the words

"Prince of Thebes in his august Apt, Lord of the sky," says: "I have given to thee the duration of Ra and his years as Prince (*heq*) of the Two Lands . . . the twofold strength of the Horus-gods in thy deeds; all countries to be under thy feet."

The culminating scene lies to the right. The king now stands within the shrine of Amon-Ra and Mut, offering nothing, but beholding the faces of the gods, with the emblem of sovereignty in his left and in his right hand the "life" which like Amon-Ra himself he can bestow as "the giver of life, like Ra." On his head he wears the supreme *atef* crown with ram's horns; before him are three standards, the jackal, the Khonsu figure with rounded back, and the falcon with an *atef* crown. They are all supported by two *ankhs* and an *user* at the bottom, by hands that may be divine. The first is the "Opener of the Ways of the South, the Power of the Two Lands," the same that we have seen at the Osirification of Amon-hotep III.; and he gives "all life, stability, power" to the king, and bids him "come in peace." Amon-Ra says, as oft before, "I have given to thee the sovereignty of the Two Lands, the years of Horus, joy of heart, to my son, beloved, Lord of the Two Lands . . . all countries under thy feet for evermore." The god styles himself "King of the gods, dwelling in the seats of his august Apt, great god, Lord of the sky." Mut, Lady of Asheru, who stands behind him, wearing the two crowns of Egypt, says, "I am thy mother, who created thy beauty."

An inscription between the king and the standards reads: "Renewing his monuments of his father, the King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Ra-maat-neb." It is probably the work of Tut-anhk-Amon.

TWO THEBAN OFFICIALS
AND
THEIR TOMBS

TWO THEBAN OFFICIALS.

THE tombs described in the following pages belonged to two officials, Sen-nezem and Pa-shedu, who probably flourished in the xix. or xx. Dynasty. They held the office of “*sedem-ash* in the True Place.” Professor Sir Gaston Maspero has devoted a long investigation in the *Receuil de Travaux* (1880, ii., 159 *sqq.*) to the subject of the office, from which it appears that *sedem-ash* means “attendant” (lit. one who hears the call), and that the locality “True Place” is a term indicating “the mortuary quarter,” which is to-day known as Gourneh and Drah abu'l Neggah, but excluding Dér el Bahri and other parts of the Theban necropolis. He believes further that the appellation “Place of Truth” or “True Place” was unknown before the expulsion of the Hyksos kings; and that from Amon-hotep I. to Amon-hotep II. (about 100 years) the monarchs who remained faithful to the traditions of the Theban dynasties constructed their tombs in the same valley, but that with the burial of Amon-hotep III. in the Valley of the Kings’ Tombs, the district surrounding the tomb of Amon-hotep I. and the quarter known as “The True Place” were abandoned

for the region round about Medinet Habu. The term “The True Place” disappears after the reign of Rameses IV.

The instances given by the learned professor were drawn from the Turin Museum and other collections, on which he furnished a long report to M. Jules Ferry, then Minister of Public Instruction in France.

His conclusions as to the functions of these “attendants in the True Place” are substantially those of Lieblein and Lepsius: they belonged, not to a judicial body, but to a confraternity devoted to the cult of the dead; or perhaps to a body like those who, later in Græco-Egyptian times, contracted with families for making offerings or prayers annually on certain days, to their dead, as priests in our own time agree to say masses for the repose of departed souls.

There are many monuments of these officials in the British Museum, dating from the xviii. Dynasty onwards. In the Guide to the Sculptures they are almost invariably, but, according to Maspero, erroneously called “judges,” probably from the fact that “the True Place” is there commonly misinterpreted the “Seat of Law,” as if it were a tribunal.

THE TOMB OF SEN-NEZEM.

THIS tomb, known officially as No. 1, is one of the Dér el Medineh group, and is situated on the hill a little to the south of the Ptolemaic temple. It was discovered in February 1886 (see *Cairo Museum Guide*), and "had never been robbed. It contained a most complete and interesting set of funerary articles, from the tools of an architect to the tale of romance which represented the library of the deceased." The whole collection lies in Cairo Museum, dispersed in various rooms and cases; and comprises a coffin belonging to a lady, Isis (Ast), wooden vases painted so as to represent alabaster, painted pottery vases, wooden boxes, masons' and painters' plumb lines, squares and levels, a cubit measure, seats and three-legged stools, two mummy masks; a leaf of the wooden door of the inner chamber, with a portion of the lock still attached; and, last but not least, two magnificent funeral biers or sledges, one for Sen-nezem (which probably means "sweet brother"), and the other for his son Khonsu, "both of which are painted, decorated, and varnished in a high style of art." The tale of romance mentioned above is written on a piece of limestone broken

in two, the entire length of which is 1 metre and the width in the middle 20 centimetres, the whole being covered with somewhat coarse hieratic characters punctuated with red ink. "The fracture is not a recent one: the limestone had been purposely broken at the time when it was deposited in the tomb, as was also the case with many of the toilet and household objects which were laid along with the mummy. The Egyptians expected to enjoy in the next world the same amusements as in this one. Accordingly in the case of Sen-nezem, a story or tale had been bestowed upon the defunct, and by breaking the stone upon which it was written the story had been killed, and so sent to the other world where the *Ka* of the dead man could peruse it when in a reading mood. It is the beginning of the Adventures of Sinuhit,¹ of which the middle and the end have long been known, contained as they are in a papyrus in Berlin which is partly destroyed."

From the amount of furniture and other objects found in the tomb it might be supposed that it is of large dimensions. This is not so. A few steps lead down to an open space hollowed out of the soft shaly mountain, and on the right side of this outer room a descent of three or four more steps conducts one into a small vaulted chamber, in the shape of a sarcophagus with

¹ Professor Maspero has published a fine edition, with exhaustive grammatical notes and vocabulary, of the Adventures, *Les Mémoires de Sinouhit* (1908), of which Mr A. H. Gardiner has made a searching criticism in the *Recueil de Travaux*.

rounded top. It measures about 16 feet long by 8 feet wide, and nearly the same height from the floor to the centre of the vault. The walls, ceiling, and ends are plastered over, and on this coating the various scenes, chiefly illustrations of chapters from the *Book of the Dead*, are painted in a bold style, the colours being remarkably fresh and vivid. The work is practically undamaged. A light that does not smoke is the best for seeing the chamber.

Of the personages named in the tomb there are, besides his wife, Ai-nefer or Ai-neferta, a son, Bu-nekhtu, who acts as *an-mutj* priest to his father; Khonsu, a son, who performs the ceremony of "opening the mouth" of the deceased; and another son, Ra-hotep. A boy and a girl beside the chairs of the couple are not described as son and daughter, yet probably they are so. The other persons named in the tomb are not described as relations. The name of a daughter of the wife is given on the wooden door-leaf in Cairo Museum as Aru-nefer, where also the *sedem-ash* Kha-benkhet, his brother Pa-kha-ru, Ra-hotep, Khonsu, Ra-mes, An-hotep, and Ra-ne-khu are named in the order here given, but none of them is described as a son. But on Sen-nezem's funeral sledge (No. 1259, Cairo Museum, upstairs) the following are given as sons, Kha-benkhet, Bu-nekhtef, Ra-hotep, Khons, Ra-mes, An-hotep, and Ra-nekhtu; and two daughters of Ai-nefert are also mentioned, Ar-nefer and one whose name is lost.

The first scene calling for attention is the embalmment of the deceased by Anubis, painted on the wall opposite the entrance, left-hand corner. Sen-nezem, like the dead Osiris, is lying on a bier, and over him Anubis, the great embalmer—he who is in Ut,—bends at his work of mummification, which is frequently the vignette attached to chapter i. B of the *Book of the Dead*. The hieroglyphic text relating to the scene begins with the three short columns on the left-hand end-wall, and proceeds along under the bier to the right for twenty-six columns more: the bulk of it is taken from chapter i., *Book of the Dead*, but the heading is partly from chapter cxxiv., “Chapter of coming to the Sovereign Chiefs¹ of Osiris on the day of the burial.” The ordinary title of chapter i. is, “The beginning of the chapters of coming forth from Day, of the words which bring about resurrection and glory, and of coming forth from and of going into the glorious Neterkhert in the beautiful Amentet. To be said on the day of the burial of [the deceased] triumphant, who goeth in after coming forth.” The difference in the titles may refer to the picture on the left-hand end-wall, where Sen-nezem and his wife appear before two rows of gods who are not separately named. The pictures usually attached to chapter cxxiv. show the deceased appearing before the four children of Horus; in the Papyrus of Nu three only are given, probably for want of room. Here, however, two rows, one headed by Horus-

¹ Renouf translates, “the Divine Circle of Osiris.”

Ra, followed by six gods, and the other headed by Osiris and followed by five gods, are given. This scene will be referred to later. The text of the embalming scene reads:—

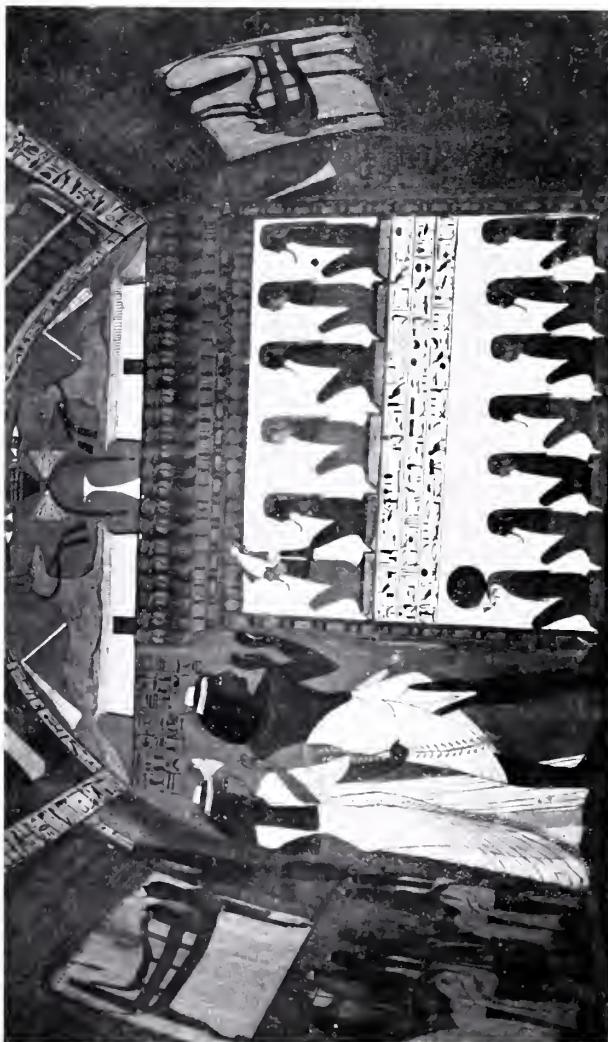
“Chapter of coming to the Sovereign chiefs of Osiris on the day of the burial of the Osiris, the Attendant in the True Place, Sen-nezem: O Bull [the god Osiris], Lord of Amentet, lo! Thoth, king of Eternity, is here! I am the great god at the side of the divine bark, who fought for thee; I am one of those gods, the sovereign chiefs, who make the Osiris (the deceased) *maakheru* (triumphant) over his enemies on the day of the Weighing of Words (the Judgment). I am thy *undut*,¹ Osiris. I am one of those gods, the progeny of Nut, for the slaughter of the foes of Osiris and fettering the Sebau enemies for him. I am thy *undut*, Horus, I have fought for thee and passed by (?) them for thy name. I am Thoth who makes the Osiris triumphant over his enemies on that day of the Weighing of Words in the house of the great Prince that is in Annu (Heliopolis). I am Dadit, son of Dadit, who was conceived in Dadit, and born in Dadit. I am with the mourners for Osiris in the Two Lands of the Rekhti who make the Osiris victorious over his enemies. Ra gave command to Thoth to make Osiris triumphant over his enemies; the command was performed by Thoth. I am with

¹ Renouf renders by “kinsman,” Budge by “mediator (?)”

Horus on the day of the clothing of Teshtesh (an Osiris name), and of opening the caverns of purification for Still Heart (a name for Osiris) and the entrance of the hidden things of Ro-setau. I am with Horus the restorer of that left [lit. east] arm of Osiris that is in Sekhem (Letopolis). I come forth from and I enter the fire ("place of sunset or sunrise," Renouf) on the day of the destruction of the Sebau fiends in Sekhem. I am with Horus on the day of making the festivals of Osiris, and making the offerings of the *denat*¹ festival in Annu. I am the *uab*² (purifying priest) in Dadu that poureth (?) out sacred oil in Abdu (Abydos) on the day of the staircase (*khend*). I am the Neter Hem (divine servant) in Abdu on the day of turning up the earth. I am he that seeth the hidden things of Ro-setau. I am he that reciteth the festival of the Ram (soul) divine in Dadu. I am the *Setem* priest in his office; I am the great master-craftsman on the day of ploughing-the-earth festival in Suten-henen (Heracleopolis). O those who cause souls made perfect to enter into the House of Osiris, cause ye my soul to enter together with you into the House; may he (I) see as ye see; may he (I) hear as ye hear; may he stand as ye stand; may he sit as ye sit. O those who give bread, cakes, and beer to souls

¹ On the 6th day of the month.

² "The speaker now assumes the persons of various priests in succession,"—RENOUF.



The embalming
by Anubis,

SEN-NEZEM AND HIS WIFE BEFORE THE GODS OF THE DUAT.

made perfect in the House of Osiris, give ye bread, cakes, and beer to the Osiris Attendant in the True Place, on the West (the Amentet) of Thebes, the mountain of Maat, Sen-nezem : my soul be with you. O ye who open the way, O ye who unclose . . . the roads. . . .” Here the text ends abruptly.

SCENE 2 (Left End-wall).

Sen-nezem before the Gods.

Sen-nezem and his wife Ai-nafert appear here adoring two rows of gods, who are seated within a pavilion or shrine with a cobra-frieze ; above are the jackal guardians of the tomb, with a small lotus-crowned jar between ; while over all is the ring of infinity, the sign for water (*mu*), and a red vase with a sacred eye on either side.

The deities, who are all seated on *Maat* (Truth), are not named individually : Horus or Ra, the head of the lower or principal row, is followed by three pairs of male and female deities alternately ; Osiris leads the upper row, and behind him are three red-faced gods with two green-faced goddesses between.

The words above Sen-nezem’s head are :—

“ Giving of adoration to all the gods of the Duat (underworld) by the Osiris Attendant in the True Place, Sen-nezem, triumphant ; and his sister (wife),

whom he loves, mistress of the house, Ai-nesert, triumphant."

The three horizontal lines of inscription between the rows of the deities say:—

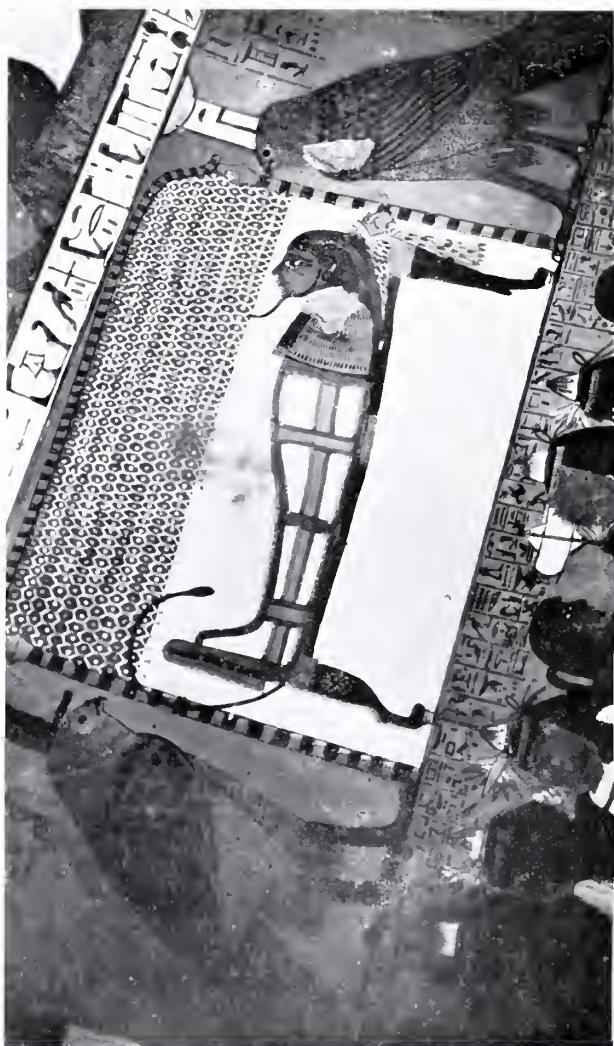
"The book of making perfect the *khu* (spirit) that dwelleth within Ra, of causing him to have the mastery before Tum, to make him great before Osiris, and of causing him to be strong before the chief of Amentet, of giving him might before the company of the gods, of embalming the heart of the *khu*, of making wide his steps. It will cause him to walk about, [to cure?] his deafness, to come face-to-face (?) with the god."

Dr Budge gives a version of the above as the title of chapter cxc., because it is found by itself in the Papyrus of Nu. Professor Naville, however, points out that it is really not a chapter but part of a hymn to the Setting Sun included in chapter xv., b. 3, and forms the title of chapter cxlviii. in the Turin Papyrus.

SCENE 3.

The Osiris Lying in State.

As a companion picture to the embalmment by Anubis is the scene opposite, where the Osiris (deceased) is lying on his bier watched over by Isis, at the foot, and Nephthys



Isis.

Nepthys.

THE OSIRIS LYING IN STATE.

at the head, as divine falcons, waiting for the coming to life of the god-man. Isis occupies the post of honour, whence she can best watch the face of her lord. An old religious text says: "Even as Osiris lives, he (the deceased) shall live also; even as Osiris is not dead, he also will not die; even as Osiris is not destroyed, he also will not be destroyed." Like another Osiris, Sen-nezem will awake to a new and joyous life. This picture is usually given along with chapter xvii., *Book of the Dead*. Isis is here called "great Divine Mother, Lady of the sky, Mistress of all the gods"; and Nephthys, the other sister, "Vigorous of words, Lady of the sky, Mistress of the Two Lands, I have come to be a protection for the Osiris Attendant, etc., Sen-nezem." Nephthys, like Isis, thus seems to have been gifted with "magic words of power," and so she is sometimes called "Great one of words."

SCENE 4 (opposite Entrance).

Sen-nezem before Osiris.

To the right of the embalmment is the appearance of Sen-nezem before Osiris. The Weighing of the Heart, or the Judgment, before Osiris, is supposed to have taken place, and now Sen-nezem is being conducted by Anubis into the august presence of the great god, the Sovereign of the Amentet. The result of the judgment was to

pronounce Sen-nezem *maakheru*, possessed of the power of the magic voice whose word would be all-powerful in compelling obstructive demons, and generally, in giving effect to his will. He is therefore "triumphant" or "victorious," able to call things into reality by the very tone of his voice. Osiris stands on Maat in his shrine, swathed as a mummy in a white robe of linen, and holding the emblems of his sovereignty, crook and whip, with the *atef* crown on his head, and the two all-seeing eyes above. In this scene the god is usually represented enthroned. Before and behind him, hanging from a pole, is the dripping skin of a slain bull that was slaughtered to yield up the soul of Osiris at his reconstruction, with the vase underneath to catch the blood. An immense collection of offerings of all kinds, legs and ribs of meat, a goose, cakes, baskets of fruit, flowers, jars of liquor, etc., all for the god's sustenance, stands in front of the shrine, and also, apparently above the head, but really on the far side, of the kneeling Sen-nezem, who is "touching" the object on the table which lies nearest to him by way of consecrating (?) it. Between the wreathed jars are probably the spathes of the inflorescence of the palm-tree, which is the usual accompaniment of the statues of Min, the god of fertility. The kneeling Sen-nezem represents the second act of the story; the first is shown to the right, where Anubis conducts the now *maakheru* Sen-nezem by the hand after the Judgment, which is not represented here. Notice that Sen-nezem as he is being



Osiris.

SEN-NEZEM BEFORE OSIRIS.

Sen-nezem.

Anubis.

led in by Anubis at the extreme right end of the wall, wears a black wig, whereas when he kneels before Osiris, *immediately after*, his wig is whitened. This is not an accidental change, nor has he become an old man in the brief interval between the first act and the second. Precisely the same change is shown as occurring in the wigs of Ani (see Papyrus of Ani). At the Judgment Ani awaits the result wearing a black wig; *immediately after*, Horus conducts him into the presence of Osiris with the same head-dress; but when, as the completion of the last movement, Ani kneels before Osiris and offers his gifts, his wig is *white*, with an unguent cone on top. And in the Papyrus of Iouiya, also, that personage is represented wearing a white wig in adoring Osiris (plate i.) and at the Elysian fields (plate xviii.), whereas in the other scenes Iouiya is shown with a black wig. Unfortunately the papyrus does not contain a picture of the Judgment scene. Professor Naville thinks that in the case of Iouiya the white-wig scenes were so painted to show clearly that "he was a very old man when he died," thereby implying that a considerable interval had elapsed between the painting of the black-wig scenes and the former. However that may be, the reason given for the change will not at all fit the cases of Ani and Sen-nezem, for in the very same scene, in its two immediately consecutive acts, the same figure wears different coloured wigs. In either of these cases there is no hint or suspicion that the painting was done at different times. Hence we may

conclude that the change from black to white corresponds to some change necessitated by the deceased's appearing before Osiris, either a moral change or a ceremonial one, but not a difference of age.

A long text of thirty-eight columns attached to this scene begins at the right-hand top corner of the shrine and goes on to the end of the wall. It reads:—

“Words said by the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., Sen-nezem, triumphant; saith he: ‘Hail to thee, Osiris, Chief of the Amentet, Un-nefer, Lord of the Sacred Land, Lord of the *atef* crown, he that is equipped with two horns, the youth that is Chief of Amentet, I have come verily to thee, Lord of Life, Health, Strength; I am strong upon earth, I have done right (things), nor have I been driven back from the cakes (?) that are in the temples, I have not been repelled (?) by the Company (*phuat*) of the Gods, I have entered at the gates of the Duat; I am not found to have been evil at the Weighing of Thoth the embalmer, as one of those gods who follow Horus. I am the servant (priest) of the Book of the Coming forth. O Osiris, grant thou to me breezes,’ [said] by the Osiris, the Attendant, etc. On the west of Thebes, the domain (mountain) of Maat, Sen-nezem, triumphant, lord of devotion (the feal), happy in peace.”

The address of Sen-nezem as he kneels before the offerings is:—

“I sit near to thee, O Un-nefer; I give to thee cakes, beer, in the presence of Osiris Khenti [by] the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., Sen-nezem, etc., lord of devotion (the feal).”

Over Anubis as he brings in Sen-nezem we have:—

“Said by Anpu: Lo! there cometh to thee the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., Sen-nezem, triumphant before Osiris. The gods of the Duat receive thee! Mayst thou be given a seat in the Neter-khert (under-world), mayst thou be purified with incense, may thy members be joined even as . . . of those that are at the front (?) of the gods; may he (S.) be one of those gods that are in the Duat; mayst thou follow Sekri to Ro-setau; mayst thou exalt (praise) Ra when he rises, mayst thou please (*se-hotep*) him in his setting (*hotep*) in life; [said] by the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., S.

Here there occurs a speech of Maat the goddess, who is not represented:—

“Said by Maat, the daughter of Ra: the Attendant, etc.: S. strong art thou (?) in entering, strong in going forth; may he (S.) be led along to the presence of Osiris, may he sit near Un-nefer like one of those gods that follow Horus; let him not be turned back at the gates of the Duat, the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., S.” In front of Anubis: “Saith Anpu, the Chief of the Divine Dwelling (the Tomb), the great

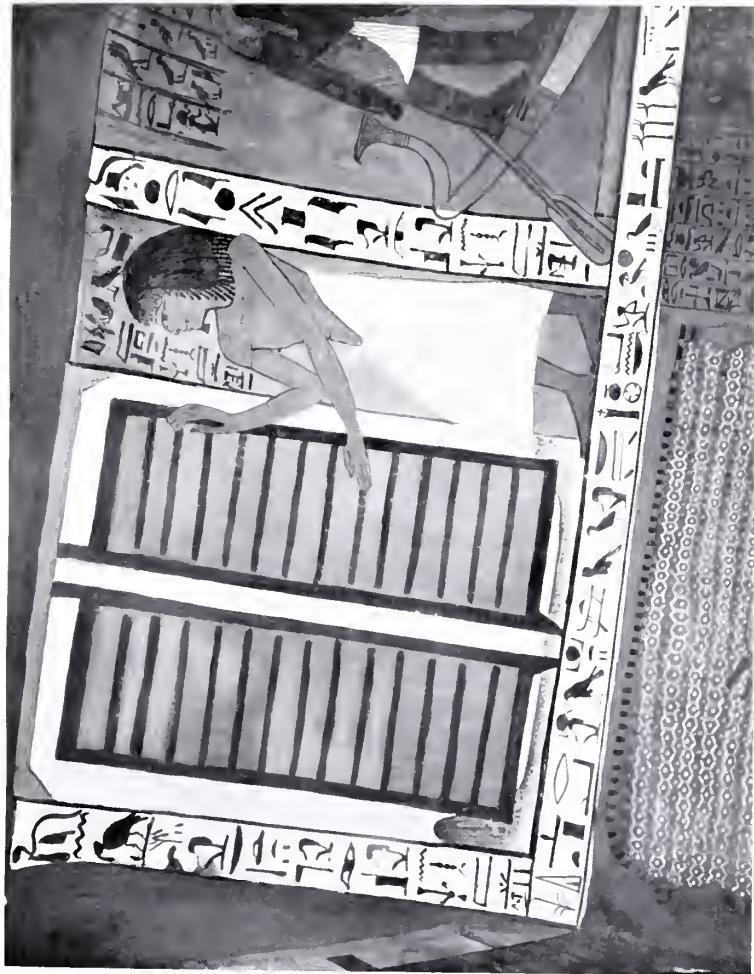
god, Lord of the sky: Lo! I come; may the gods of the Duat receive the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., S."

SCENE 5.

The Opening of the Two Gates of the Sky.

This scene, which is without text, immediately above the embalmment, seems to illustrate two chapters, lxvii. and lxviii., of the *Book of the Dead*. The former is entitled, "Chapter of opening a place (*hat*)"; and the latter, "Chapter of coming forth from Day," where we have the opening sentence, "Let the two doors of the sky be opened to me, let the two doors of earth be opened to me, etc. . . . let the Ro-hent (a region between earth and sky) be opened to me." Here, we have the two gates resting in sockets on the earth, with the upper ends of the posts revolving in similar sockets in the sky, like the two doors of a chamber in a temple. The sky spreads over all. Sen-nezem is seen using both hands to open the half-door next to him. Each leaf has thirteen bars: only the name and function of S. are given.

The object of opening these gates is to gain admission to the boat of Ra in the sky, as chapter lxvii. shows: "let me advance to my seat which is in the Boat of Ra." Also, in chapter xlvi., which contains the identification of the several parts of the body, each with a particular deity, the



The Gates.

SEN-NEZEM OPENING THE GATES OF THE SKY.

The Boat of Ra.



Ra. The Benu of Ra.

THE BOAT OF RA.



deceased, after “telling all his” members,¹ proceeds to “identify himself with the divinity whose manifestation is the Sun; he is not the Sun of this or that moment, but of Yesterday, To-day, and of all eternity, the One proceeding from the One” (Renouf); and he says, in this interest, “I open the gates of the Sky,” like the Sun, who opens the gates of day and begins a new existence. Accordingly, to the right of this picture we have

SCENE 6.

The Boat of Ra.

He, falcon-headed, stands in the middle, with five gods behind him—“the followers of Horus,”—while the blue Bennu-bird, with an *atef* crown, standing in the bow of the boat, may represent the risen Sen-nezem. In the Turin Papyrus the vignettes to chapters c. and ci. show the boat of Ra, with a man poling at the bow and the *bennu*-bird, probably the deceased, standing behind Ra, the sun-god. The title of chapter c. runs thus: “The book of making perfect the Khu, of causing him to go forth into the boat of Ra along with those who are in his following.” The inscription here over the bird reads: “This is the Bennu of Ra.” Over the god: “Ra Hor-akhte (Horus of the

¹ St Paul (1 Cor. vi. 15) boldly calls the “members of the body” and the body itself the “members of Christ,” a metaphor which seems to indicate an Egyptian origin.

two horizons) Tum, Lord of the two lands of Annu (Heliopolis)"; and above the gods in Ra's train: "The great company of the gods that are in the boat of Ra."

SCENE 7.

Sen-nezem Worshipping the Sun and Seven Stars.

Sen-nezem and his wife stand, with hands reverently raised in adoration of the sun-disc (red) and seven yellow stars, set in a deep blue sky; beneath the sun and stars is a group of gods, five in number (perhaps seven were intended, to correspond with the number of the stars), who are seated on blue Maat. The gods are red- or green-faced. The inscription says: "Giving adoration to all the gods of the sky by the *Ka* (first mention) of the Attendant, etc., S., and his sister (wife), mistress of the house, Ai-nefert, triumphant."

It is difficult to refer this scene to any one chapter in the *Book of the Dead*. The rubric of chapter cxxxiii. (Papyrus of Nu) ordains that, among other things, "a sky with its stars shall be made (painted), and this thou shalt have made ceremoniously pure by natron and incense." If seven, instead of five, gods be taken to represent the seven stars, we may refer them to the seven spirits¹ of

¹ Cf. Revelation i. 4 (the seven spirits which are before his throne); iii. 1 (seven spirits of God and the seven stars); iv. 5; v. 6.



SEN-NEZEM AND HIS WIFE ADORING THE SUN
AND SEVEN STARS.

chapter xvii., Mestha, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebhsennuf with three others, who were appointed protectors of the body of Osiris.

SCENE 8.

Bread and Water from the Tree.

To the right we see Sen-nezem and his wife kneeling on the top of their own tomb, and receiving with their hands water from the goddess Nut, who grows out of the trunk of a tree, and holds a table of cakes and a jar of water from which two or three streams descend to S. and his wife, who catch it with their hands. This scene usually illustrates chapter lix., *Book of the Dead*, whose title is, "The Chapter of snuffing the air and of having command of water in the Neter-khert." It begins: "Hail, thou sycamore of the goddess Nut, grant me of the water and the air (wind) which dwell in thee." The tree is also laden with red fruit. There are many allusions in the *Book of the Dead* to the meat and drink provided by the tree of Nut for the departed. It grew at Heliopolis. Dr Budge thinks that "it may well have served as the archetype of the sycamore tree under which the Virgin Mary sat and rested during her flight into Egypt, and there seems to be little doubt that many of the details about her wanderings in the Delta which are recorded in the apocryphal gospels and in writings of a similar class are borrowed from the old mythology of Egypt." It should, however, be added that

Hat-hor and Isis are also represented in tombs and elsewhere as tree-goddesses furnishing food and drink to the hungry and thirsty souls of the departed ; and the tree is frequently a date-palm laden with fruit, as we shall see later, in the tomb of Pa-shedu, and not always a sycamore, even in the case of Nut. In Sen-nofer's tomb at Sheikh abd el Gourneh the tree-goddess is Isis (see the *Gardener's Tomb at Thebes*, p. 29), and the goddess Hat-hor ministers in the same way to Queen Ty-ti in her tomb (*Two Theban Queens*, 104, 105). Moreover, in chap. clxxxix., *Book of the Dead* (Papyrus of Nu), the deceased is asked concerning the kind of food he would like, and he replies, "Let me eat my food beneath the sycamore tree of the goddess Hat-hor"; and further on we are told that the "beautiful sycamore" grows out of the Pool of Ageb (flowing stream). Above the triple stream of water which descends to the kneeling pair we read, on the right, "Nut, great goddess"; and, appropriately, to the left, the water is "for the *Ka* of the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., S. [and] his sister (wife), mistress of the house, Ai-nefer, triumphant." Both wear cones above their black wigs, and reverently catch the water in their hands.

SCENE 9.

The Gates of the House of Osiris.

This is on the opposite wall. Beside the entrance, Sen-nezem, above, and Ai-nefert, below, confront two



Anubis,

Sen-nezem.

BREAD AND WATER FROM THE TREE.

rows of demons facing the right, who severally sit under the cobra-frieze top of a gate, armed with terrible knives. These secret pylons (*scbkhct*), here only ten in number, are entrances to the House of Osiris, which, like "many mansions," are supposed to form an element in the happiness of the future life of the deceased, who is supposed to pass through, or occupy, the whole twenty-one. Each gate is guarded by a monster armed with a terrible blade, and before Sen-nezem and his wife can pass within, they must know and be able to utter with the "proper voice" the several names of these dread warders. It was to qualify them in this respect that they passed the Weighing or Judgment, and appeared before Osiris on the opposite wall. A knowledge of the "name" is essential here, as well as in some more exalted faiths, to ensure the benefits of "salvation" here and hereafter. Chap. cxlvii. of the *Book of the Dead* deals with the whole matter, where, in complete versions, twenty-one pylons must be faced by the aspirant, who approaches each usually with the words, "I have made a way (*i.e.* arrived), I know thee (addressed to the pylon), and I know thy name, and I know the name of the god that guardeth thee." Then follow the "names" of the pylon, and of the guardian, properly pronounced with "power and authority," as in the New Testament in exorcising demons. To know the "name," and to utter it properly, gives the mastery over the "spirit" or obstacle to be overcome. To *know* and to *trust in* the "name" is to

transcend all evil limitations. In this tomb the names only of the pylons are given.

Sen-nezem and his wife stand, with uplifted hands, before the pylons and their guardians of the House of Osiris in the Fields. Sen-nezem says :—

“Saith the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., S.; saith he: I am come before thee, O Osiris, Chief of Amentet, Un-nefer, Lord of Dadu, I am feal to thee, I have loved the place of truth, I have loved (said twice) truth, I have not done evil, I know the ways of Amentet . . . in the heart of the Osiris, Sen-nezem, triumphant.” His wife speaks thus: “Saith the Osiris, the mistress of the house, Ai-neferta, triumphant; saith she: I am come before thee to behold thy beauty, great one of twofold might, chief of the sovereign princes; grant thou the paths of the gods to their seat, guide the *kh*us to their seat, to behold (?) their caverns (?) with breath (or air), by the mistress of the house, Ai-neferta, triumphant.”

The first Sebkhet (pylon) before Sen-nezem is guarded by a vulture-headed creature with a large knife, seated beneath his gateway. Behind the monster are the words (beginning with the farther column): “Sebkhet One, Lady of trembling (?), of the high walls, sovereign lady of destruction, who sets in order the words”—here the dread name of this “lady” (the pylon) abruptly breaks off for want of space. The writing of even a part of this



THE GATES OF THE HOUSE OF OSIRIS.

“great and terrible name” is sufficient magically for Sen-nezem’s purpose, and he is allowed to pass through without further question.

Sebkhet Two is below—the odd numbers are above, the even numbers below—guarded by a lioness-headed monster, similarly equipped. The *sebkhet* is named, “Lady of the sky, mistress of the two lands, devourer, lady of mankind, who discerneth all men” (or, “is great beyond every one,” *ten-nu r bu ncb*).

Sebkhet Three has a crocodile-headed keeper. The name is, “Lady of altars, great one of offerings . . . every god; that sails down to Abydos: the name of the door-keeper is”—not given for want of room.

Sebkhet Four has a bull- or cow-headed guardian, with horns. The name is, “She that is mighty with (of) knives, mistress of the two lands, destroyer of the enemies of Motionless-Heart (a name of Osiris), maker of”—ends abruptly.

Sebkhet Five is guarded by a boy-looking monster, with misshapen head, armed with two knives—the only one with two. The name is, “Blazing fire, lady of increase (‘breezes,’ Turin Papyrus), she who inhales supplications [made] to her, none who is on earth comes near her. Name of guardian is”—name again wanting.

Sebkhet Six is guarded by a snake-headed figure, with long knife. Pylon’s name is, “Lady of light, great one of roarings, not known is her length . . . from the first (?), not found is her like.”

Sebkhet Seven has a green-faced and bearded man for a guardian, with two blue feathers stuck in his hair. In the Papyrus of Nu the head is a ram's. The Pylon's name is, "Shroud that enwraps the feeble one (*i.e.* the dead), mourners for her love."

Sebkhet Eight has for guardian a creature with a bird's head and long straight bill. The name of the *sebkhet* is, "Flaming fire (*dkht* instead of *rkht*), darting flame, [not] quenched; she that is furnished with tongues of fire, that shoots forth her hand, that slaughters."

Sebkhet Nine. The guardian has a jackal's head. The name is, "She who is at the front (*i.e.* the foremost), lady of strength, the pleased of heart (joyous), who gives birth to her lord, whose girth is 350 measures."

Sebkhet Ten has a white-headed jackal or dog for guardian. The *sebkhet's* name is, "The loud of voice, she that raiseth up those who cry (?) and make supplications, the dread one of terrors (?)."

The "knowledge" requisite for passing through these pylons or gates was gained by the deceased having been declared *maakheru* before Osiris. This "knowledge," especially of the names of demons and things, was necessary, if Sen-nezem were to realise the happy life hereafter. The value attached to the "name" and "the knowledge of the name" is conspicuous throughout the Old Testament; and eventually, in partial union with Hellenistic theology, became systematised in Gnosticism, which, though expelled from the Church as a heresy,

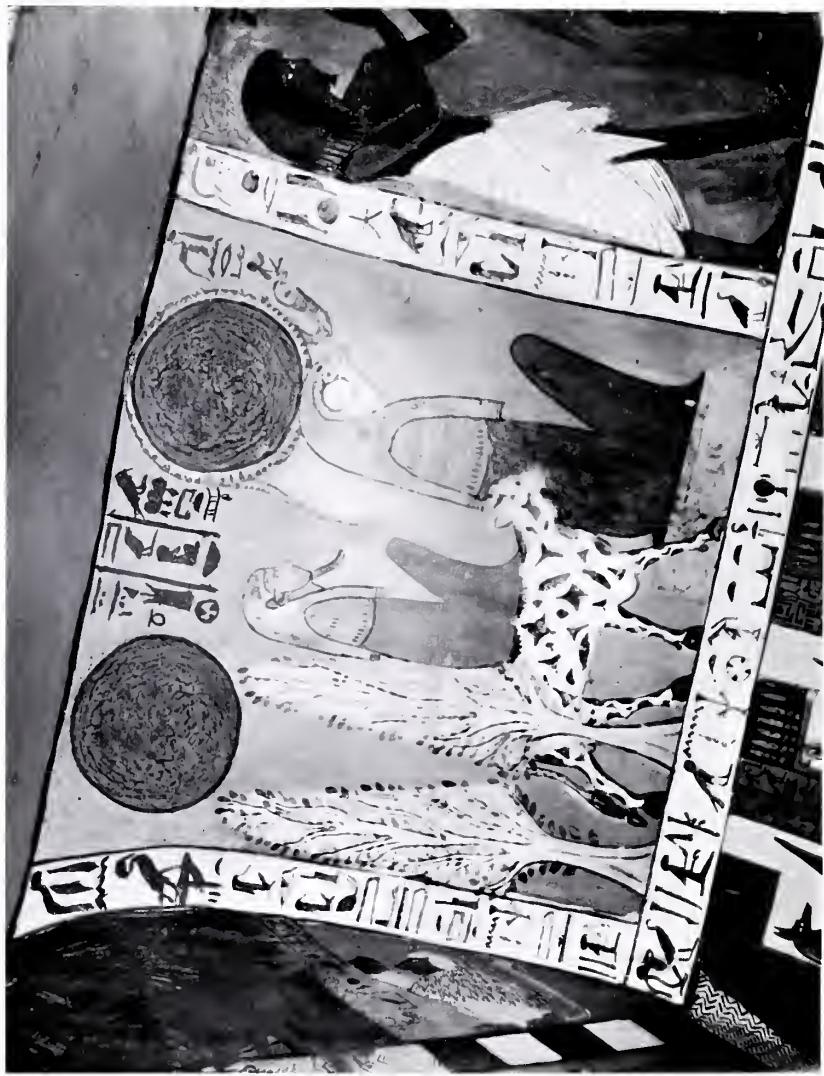
had left its marks in the Christian Scriptures. The soul in its effort to mount towards its true home had to encounter Seven Spheres, whose barriers had gates each guarded by the master-demon of the sphere. These lords of the gates were probably St Paul's "world-powers," "the angels and principalities and powers," "the world-rulers of this darkness," "the prince of the power of the air," etc. In the Christian Gnostic system of magical lore, "by learning the names of the demonic creatures who would oppose the soul on its upward way, and by uttering the passwords which were appropriate to each gate, the soul could have power over all its adversaries." This is simply the old Egyptian way. And against all the "knowledge" of the Gnostics was set the "name" of Jesus, to whom was given "the name which is above every name; that *in* the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things of the world below; and that *every tongue should confess* that Jesus Christ is *Lord*, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. ii. 9-11). The triumph of Jesus over the demons is signalled by Himself in these words: "I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven." "The prince of the power of the air" is overcome by Him who knew his "name" and cast him out with a "word." Therefore, to "know the name" and "to trust in it," was to enable the soul to transcend all evil limitations and gain everlasting bliss.

SCENE 10 (above last).

The Two Sycamores of Turquoise.

The scene on the roof above the two rows of pylons is an illustration of chapter cix., *Book of the Dead*, already alluded to. The falcon-headed sun-god Ra-Horus-on-the-horizons, with uræus-encircled sun-disc on his head, is seated on a blue *maat*; and behind him is a white bull-calf, with black spots, on whose back a green-faced god, with blue wig, rides. The calf seems to come from behind two tall trees, with blue foliage, between the tops of which the sun is ascending. The calf is probably the new-born sun-god. The inscription gives only, “Ra-Horus-on-the-two-horizons, Tumu, Lord of the Two Lands of Annu.” This scene is unique.

The chapter in question is entitled, “Chapter whereby one knoweth the Souls (powers) of the East,” which were, as we learn from the end of the chapter (Papyrus of Nu, British Museum), “Horus-on-the-two-horizons, and the calf of the goddess Khera (?) (*Khera, goddess, pu*), and the morning star.” In the picture before us the deceased does not figure, but in the chapter he is represented as on his way to the Garden of Peace, which is shown on the end-wall here. He says: “A divine domain (rural) hath been made for me, I know it, and I know its name—Garden of Aarru is the name thereof.” The two trees are mentioned: “I know the two sycamore trees of turquoise (*mafket*)



The Two Turquoise Sycamores.

among which Ra cometh forth when he goes forward over what Shu has lifted up (*i.e.* the sky) towards the gate of the Lord of the East."

The picture in the Papyrus of Nebseni shows the deceased worshipping behind the calf, which is walking towards Ra-Horakhte seated, and is named "of the god Khurerti." At the top corner are the words, "Adoration of Ra every day."¹ In the Turin Papyrus the vignette is quite different. The god H. is seated in a boat; above his sun-disc is a sail, the symbol for air or breath; before him is the calf, with a star above his back, and behind him a man, probably the deceased, near the steering-oar; and the boat appears to be moving towards the two trees, as if at sunrise. To the right is the deceased worshipping, with both hands raised in adoration.

In the *Literary of Funerary Offerings* (Budge, pp. 60, 61) an interesting reference is made to the calf. The fifth ceremony continues the process of assimilating the deceased with the gods, by purification with natron, and during it the officiating priest says, "Thy mouth is the mouth of the sucking-calf on the day of his birth," from which "it seems clear that the deceased is identified with the star which was born in the sky at sunrise."

¹ It is, of course, possible to translate the signs *neter dua Ra ra neb* by "Morning star of Ra, every day," but the translation given above seems to be the appropriate one as referring to the action of the deceased. *Neter dua* is constantly seen on temple walls and tombs as "divine adoration."

SCENE 11.

Sen-nezem Adoring Three Gods.

To the right of the last scene S. stands adoring three gods seated on *maat* as usual; the first is falcon-headed, the next man-headed with red face; and the last is also man-headed, but with a blue-green face. All three wear blue wigs. The inscription (faulty) begins, “Giving of adoration to all the gods of Maat; . . . uttering praises with thy mouth . . .” and ends with “the Ka of the Attendant, etc., on the West of Thebes: S. triumphant, lord of fealty, in peace.”

SCENE 12.

Sen-nezem Adoring Two Gods.

Further on to the right S. again appears standing, adoring two seated deities—the first a white, jackal-headed god, and, behind him, a man-headed god. Behind these again is a representation of the horizon (or mountain), above which on a white ground is a serpent, and a green-faced god seated. All are resting on *maat* (dark blue). The description reads, “giving of adoration to all the gods of the Duat by the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., S. triumphant.” The scene is probably an illustration of chap. cviii., *Book of the Dead*, entitled, “Chapter whereby



SEN-NEZEM ADORING TWO GODS.

the souls (powers) of the West are known." It begins: "In respect of the Mountain of Bachau (Hill of Sunrise) upon which the sky resteth" (then follow its dimensions), and proceeds, "there is a serpent on the brow of that mountain, his measure is 500 cubits in length, etc., and his name is 'Dweller in his own fire.'"

SCENE 13.

Sen-nezem Adoring Thoth and Others.

Beyond the last scene S. is again engaged adoring deities, this time the ibis-headed Thoth and two human-headed beardless deities, the one red and the other green-faced. The latter wears the two crowns of Egypt. The two are probably goddesses. The inscription says, "The adoration of Thoth, Lord of Khemennu, the true scribe of the company of the gods, by the Ka of the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., S. triumphant."

The chapter of the *Book of the Dead* illustrated may be chap. xciv., entitled "Chapter of being nigh unto Thoth," or chap. xc., "Chapter of driving evil recollections from the mouth."

SCENE 14.

The Fields of Peace or Rest.

The Fields of Rest or Peace, the Elysian Fields, as they are sometimes called, are depicted on the end-wall.

They represent the great region of the future blessedness of the departed, according to the Egyptian imagination. A glance at the picture here, as well as at the numerous representations given in the various versions of the *Book of the Dead* and on the monuments, shows us that the ideal future state was a glorified agricultural and hunting life, such as might be seen anywhere in the Delta at the height of Egyptian civilisation. From the earliest times the Egyptian conceptions of future happiness centred round a garden or fields—a Paradise in fact—with the cultivation of which man combined the gratification of all his earthly joy and pleasures. Ploughing, sowing, reaping, sailing in boats on the canals, the pursuit of birds, the spearing of fish, and many other similar sports, with the company of his wife and children, constituted for all alike, for the Pharaoh as well as for the peasant, the ideal life of the future. Hence we are not surprised to see depicted on the walls of Medinet Habu Temple, Rameses III. ploughing, sowing, reaping, etc., and paddling about, like the humblest of his subjects; or to find a chantress of Amon like Anhai, or the wife of Sen-nezem, driving her cattle or gleaning ears of corn like an ordinary peasant woman.

This Region of Blessedness, Hotepet, included another, called the Garden of Aarru or Aanru, the meaning of which, according to Renouf, can be traced to some creeping plant, probably the vine. Islands or portions of land separated by canals play a part in the scenery of the



THE EGYPTIAN PARADISE.

region, which seems to point to a northern locality, whether in the Delta or beyond it—an indication supported by some of the prayers contained in the chapter for “the sweet breath of the North Wind.” The whole district is invariably represented as surrounded and intersected by canals or rivers of water, thus showing several islands; and an XVIII. Dynasty stele informs us that the deceased “guides his boat of Kher-neter (the underworld) to the Islands of the Garden of Aarru.” The Garden of Eden is also described as having “a river that went out of it to water the garden; and from thence it was parted and became four heads” (Genesis ii. 10). In Homer, Elysium is a beautiful meadow at the western extremity of the earth, on the banks of the Oceanus, where the favoured of Zeus, without tasting of death, live a life of perfect happiness; while Hesiod speaks of the Islands of the Blest by the Ocean, where men live without pain. In later times Elysium with its bliss was localised in the world below, and regarded as the abode of those whom the judges of the dead had pronounced worthy of it. It is not too much to say that the Egyptian conception is the parent of all the Paradises man has imagined. A fair idea of that conception may be obtained from the title of chapter cx., which relates to these Happy Fields: “The beginning of the chapters of the Garden of Hotepet, and of the chapters of coming forth from Day; of going into and of coming out from the Neterkhert (underworld), and of arriving at the Garden

of Aarru, of being (Renouf, at the Rise) in the Field of Hotepe, the great Domain, the Mistress (possessed) of breezes ; of having power there, and be a *khu* (in glory) there ; of ploughing there ; of reaping there ; of eating there ; of drinking there ; of enjoying the pleasures of love there ; and of doing everything that is done upon earth"—a very comprehensive earthly paradise.

Up to the present, the most complete copy of chapter cx. of the *Book of the Dead* is contained in the Papyrus of Nebseni in the British Museum, which Dr Budge has given in his edition of the Book. Here nothing of the text of the chapter itself is given ; only short descriptive phrases with names, etc., occur in the various divisions. The picture here is a very complete and pleasing one. The whole region is surrounded by water, with two principal streams dividing it ; in some pictures there are three dividing rivers. Above is a picture of Ra, the sun-god, in his morning (*growing, strong*) boat, adored by apes. This picture does not really belong to the representation of the Fields of Peace. The god, falcon-headed, is crowned with the sun-disc, round which a snake is coiled : he holds an *ankh* before him. In front is the hieroglyph for "follower," which may stand here for the deceased, as in some vignettes to chapter ci. he is seen poling at the bow of the boat. On the top of the bow, from which hangs a kind of fringed drapery similar to the draperies shown on the sacred bark of Horus-on-the-horizons at Abydos (Temple of Sety I.), is perched

a bird, which may here be taken for the “look-out,” the Eye of Horus. In front of the right-hand ape we read, “thou adorest Ra when he rises.” The inscription relating to the god begins above the bird, “Words said : Ra, Heru-on-the-horizon, Tumu, Lord of the two lands of Annu (Heliopolis), Khepera-that-is-in-his-boat.” The ape on the left says : “Thou puttest him to rest in peace, in life.” Ra is here identified with Tum of Heliopolis.

The long island at the bottom is covered with flowering plants and shrubs of various kinds—a detail which is absent in the other pictures known to the writer,—so also is the next division of the broader island or tract of land where Sen-nezem and his wife plough, sow, and reap like ordinary peasants. It is covered from end to end with fruit trees, among which date- and doom-palms are conspicuous. To the right of the first is a smaller one of peculiar shape, on the waters of which floats a boat, with oars at bow and stern, and a sort of staircase amidships. The name of this boat in the Papyrus of Nebseni is Zedeteft. Beyond the boats are two pools of water.

Above (*i.e.* beyond) the fruit trees we have Sen-nezem ploughing with two cows, one black, the other white, while his wife sows behind him ; further to the left, the pair is busy pulling up flax or durra by the roots ; to the extreme right is a large plot of ground with four pools of blue water ; at the end of the field is a large tree. This district and the one above it are called in chapter cx. “The

Wheat and Barley Nome." Sen-nezem, whose name and office are written above the plough, drives his yoke with a double whip; he seems suitably dressed for his work, but his wife, whose name is again given as Ai-nefer-ta, wears a huge black wig which seems more appropriate for a banquet. She holds the basket containing the seed daintily in her left hand, while with the right she drops the seed into the furrow behind her lord's feet. The soil is black, as befits Egypt, the "Black Land." The flax or durra crop is a great field of dark green stalks, as tall as the wife.

Still further beyond the last scene is a large field of yellow grain, which Sen-nezem is reaping with a flint-hook with serrated teeth; he takes the ears only. His wife, again arrayed *en grande tenue*, is gleaning behind him, and puts the ears into a basket. The names of the pair are between them. In most of the pictures of these Fields of Peace the wheat or barley is shown as tall as, or even taller than, the reaper; and though this division of the Garden is named, as we have seen, in the text of chapter cx., it is in chapter cix. we find special reference made to the size of the crops: "the height of the wheat is seven cubits, of the ears two cubits, and the stalks four cubits: the barley is seven cubits, the ears three cubits, and the stalks four cubits." If the average length of a cubit be fifteen inches only, we have an ideal crop, one which must surely have satisfied the most extravagant desires of the Egyptian peasant in his wildest dreams of other-world bliss. At the right end of the field of standing grain

Sen-nezem, whose name and office are written in front of him, is seated before a table of food and drink, which he has thoroughly earned and now enjoys at the close of his labours, and he also inhales the fragrance of a lotus as the crown of his repast.

Above the river or canal of blue water of the Wheat and Barley Nome, we have another division of the Garden, where, to the left, Sen-nezem and his wife, kneeling on a heap of yellow grain which they are supposed to have gathered from their fields, are adoring a group of five gods, all seated on blue *maat*. They are not named here, but in some papyri they are called “the great company of the gods.” The action of Sen-nezem and his wife are thus described: “the adoration of Ra-Horus-on-the-horizon, and prostration (lit. *smelling the grouna*) to Osiris, chief of Amentet. He (S.) gives praise to Ptah, Lord of Truth, (by) the Ka of the Attendant, etc., S. triumphant: his sister (wife), mistress of the house, Ai-nefer-ta, triumphant.” Sometimes the adoration is thus expressed, “Hail to you, O ye lord of food, I have come in peace to your Garden (Field) to receive celestial food.” The first god is Ra, the next Osiris, and the next Ptah; the remaining two are quite uncertain.

To the right, in another part of the district, is Sen-nezem’s son, Ra-hotep, paddling in a papyrus boat, and looking towards the gods whom his parents are adoring, while his boat seems to be moving in the opposite direction. Why Ra-hotep is here it is difficult to say, as it is

usually the deceased himself that paddles on the stream—Rameses III. paddles his own canoe at Medinet Habu,—unless it be to show the family nature of the future life in the Happy Gardens. Ra-hotep is styled “his son, whom he loves, Ra-hotep, triumphant,” from which we may infer that Ra-hotep was dead when the tomb was made. Still to the right another son, “Khonsu (whom he loves) triumphant,” is performing the filial duty known as the ceremony of “opening the mouth” of the mummy, whereby the father’s Ka might be enabled to eat and drink. Two instruments used in this operation are in Khonsu’s hands. Between the son and the mummy of his father are the words: “Open is thy mouth, O Osiris Sen-nezem, triumphant.” Khonsu, here named, was also dead, or conceived to be so, at the time the tomb was made; to him belongs the splendid funeral bier or sledge mentioned above, which was found in the tomb along with his father’s. To the right of the mummy are three large pools of blue water in a division of ochre-coloured land; their names are not given here, nor those of the three “towns” or “places” generally shown above the voyager in the papyrus boat, indicated as the other-world cities visited by the deceased at his pleasure, as in the phrase from the chapter cited: “so that I may go forth to the cities thereof, and may sail about among its lakes, and may walk about in the Field of Peace.” The “cities” are marked in the scene of the Fields shown in Medinet Habu Temple, and Rameses III. is seen visiting them in his boat.

Though Sen-nezem is not shown here, he was meant to be shown, because his name and office are given in two lines below the pools, with the epithet “triumphant.”

Above (*i.e.* beyond) these two last scenes, at the right-hand corner, are five broad bands or tracks spanning the river or water that surrounds the Field or Garden: three are black and two are white. In no other representation of the Fields of Peace known to the writer do these bands or tracks appear; the water is unbroken all round the Fields. They are probably bridges or “the ways” by which the Fields of Peace are reached from the earth. We can hardly suppose that they represent the ladder (*maget*) spoken of in the Pyramid Texts by which King Pepy climbed to the sky, or the Gap in the Mountains on the western bank of the Nile through which the deceased made his way to glory. They seem to be simply “joinings” or “paths” uniting earth to the Gardens. The following passage from Renouf’s notes on this chapter (*Book of the Dead*, p. 197) may throw some light on the subject: “The Pyramid Texts furnish some interesting information not contained in the *Book of the Dead*. We are told that the approach to the Garden is over the Lake of Putrata; that there is a great lake in the middle of the Garden of Hotepet, upon which the great gods alight; and that the starry deities (the circumpolar stars that never set) there feed the departed from the *wood of life* (*lignum vitae*), upon which they themselves live, in order that he too may live.”

THE FAMILY PARTIES.

The chief interest lies in the row of personages figured along the bottom of the wall directly under the bier of the deceased, where Isis and Nephthys keep watch. Sen-nezem and his wife are there seated, in the right-hand corner, at the funeral feast, while all the relations on both sides of the entrance approach them, or face them. He holds an official baton (*kherp*) in his right hand, and something like a folded cloth, usually held by officials and kings, in the left. His wife, seated beside him, embraces him affectionately: both have unguent cones on their heads. To them the eldest son, as An-mutf priest clad in panther-skin, is ministering, by pouring a libation of water on a flower-decked table before his father. Beside the chairs of the couple are two children—a boy named Ra-nekhu, and a girl, Hotepu, holding a pigeon and smelling a lotus. The boy only is *maakheru* (triumphant), and presumably dead. The parents are simply named “The Osiris, the Attendant, etc., S. triumphant; his sister (wife), mistress of the house, Ai-nefer-ta, triumphant.” The action of the son is described: “offering of everything good and pure to thy Ka, in bread, cakes, beer, oxen, geese, water, upon the table of flowers by the hand of thy son, Bu-nekht-f, triumphant.” In front of the parents, which may mean to their right hand, according to Egyptian ideas, another



THE FAMILY PARTIES.

couple is seated side by side, clad like S. and his wife. The man's face is destroyed—he may not have been a favourite. To them a son holds up a mimic sail, the symbol of imparting air or breath, and pours water on the father's left hand holding a lotus flower which he is evidently smelling. Beside the woman's chair a girl, with a cone on her head, kneels smelling a lotus. Her name is "Ta-am(?)sen, triumphant." We are not told how this couple is related to Sen-nezem: the man is an official like S., and is called "The Osiris, Attendant, etc., Tcha-ro (He of the Mouth?), triumphant"; and the woman "his sister (wife), mistress of the house, Ta-aa, triumphant." The bearer of the sail is said to be "bringing air and water to thee, O Osiris Tcha-ro, triumphant, by the hand of thy son Ro-ma, triumphant, possessor of worth." As many as four chapters (liv.-lvii. incl.) of the *Book of the Dead* deal with "giving air to the deceased" after death; this scene and inscription may be referred, probably, to chapter lvii., "The chapter of snuffing air, and of having the mastery (taking possession) of water in the Underworld."

Still another group sits further to the left, a man holding baton and cloth like the others, with two women sitting beside him, on whose head a man is placing the unguent-cone which the women already wear. By the chair of the second woman, whose face is destroyed, a girl (name not given) kneels smelling a lotus. The man is a functionary called an "Ash (attendant?) of Amon

in the Town of the South (Luxor? or Domain of the God), Kha-benkhet, triumphant"; and the first woman behind him is "His sister, mistress of the house, Ta-hen-ta (tau?)¹, triumphant"; while the second woman's relationship to the man is not disclosed, she is simply "mistress of the house, Ru-su, triumphant." Was she an "unofficial wife"? The man who adjusts the cone is "Thy son, whom thou lovest, Ro-ma, triumphant."

Across the entrance, on the lower part of the wall, the scene is continued in a row of eleven men and women (two pairs seated), with a girl and two children. They are all assisting at the scenes on the other side. The first couple is seated, smelling the lotus and holding the folded cloth; the woman's face is partially gone; both wear cones. She is less amply clad than all the other women: her name is, "His sister, whom he loves, Mesu, triumphant." The man is "Osiris, Tu-tu-aa, triumphant, possessor of worth, beautiful in rest." A girl carrying bouquets, who stands beside the woman's chair, is "Ta-aa, triumphant." The man behind, whose face is destroyed, is "the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., on the West of Thebes, Kha-benkhet, triumphant"; and his wife behind him is "His sister, whom he loves, mistress of the house, Sah, triumphant." She seems to have been called after Orion. Beside her chair is a girl carrying a tall bouquet and sistrum: she is "Henut-urt (great mistress), triumphant." The man standing with a garland and a palm-leaf (?) is called "Bu-nekht-f, triumphant"; the man



THE FAMILY PARTIES.

carrying a bird and a garland is "Ra-hotep, triumphant"; the tall woman with a flask in her left hand is Arut-nefer, triumphant"; the two men standing side by side, one with a bird, the other with a palm leaf, are Khonsu and Ra-mes, both "triumphant," the latter also "possessor of worth"; and the two men bringing up the rear are An-hotep and Ra-nekhu; lastly, a tallish girl, standing at the very back with garlands and flowers, is Sen-nu (?).

The relationship of all these persons to Sen-nezem is unknown, except perhaps Khonsu and Ra-hotep.

THE TOMB SARCOPHAGUS-SHAPED.

It has been said above that the tomb-chamber is in the shape of a sarcophagus, with a rounded top. In keeping with this form, bands of inscriptions corresponding to those found on coffins run longitudinally and transversely on the walls and ceiling. The frieze above the entrance reads: "A royal offering may Hat-hor, the President of the Mountain (Western Cemetery) grant, and the gods and goddesses that are in the Underworld, may they grant a going into and a coming out of the Underworld, and no repulsion at the gates of the Duat, for the Ka of the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., that is on the West of Thebes, S. triumphant." A similar prayer is on the opposite side: "A royal offering may Ra-Horus-on-the-horizons, Tum, lord of the Two Lands of Annu,

grant—may (he) give to thee the glories of the sky and might on (*em*) earth, and to be *maakheru* (triumphant) in the Underworld, to journey in front of the gods; mayst thou lay hold on the bows of the *Sekhet* boat (sun's evening boat) and the stern of the *Madet* (morning) boat, for the *Ka* of the Assistant, etc., S. triumphant."

Down the centre of the ceiling another similar invocation runs: "A royal offering may Osiris, *Un-nefer*, President of the West, First-born son of the Gods, Father of all the gods to eternity, Lord of *Auker* (a name for the Underworld), King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Prince of everlastingness, *Ptah-Sekeri*, Lord of the Hidden Place, grant thou to me air and water, (to) the Osiris Attendant, etc., S. triumphant."

On many coffins, at the shoulders and the side-ends, figures of Thoth supporting the sky or opening the doors of the four winds, to give air to the deceased, with a text from chapter clxi. of the *Book of the Dead*, are represented. Here, similarly, at top and bottom, on both sides of the vaulted roof, are the names (and one figure) of Thoth, such as "Thoth, Lord of the Divine words (hieroglyphic writing)," "Lord of *Khemennu*," or simply "Thoth," with the name of *Sen-nezem* associated with them.

Also, as on many coffins, there are three cross-bands on either side of the ceiling, the middle one being reserved for Anubis, and reading, "The worthy before (feal to) *Anpu*, the Osiris S. triumphant." The other two, on the side opposite the entrance, are for *Hapi* and *Qebhsennuf*; and

the corresponding two, on the side above the doorway, are for Mestha (Amset) and Duamutef. These are the four children of Horus, to whom were committed the keeping, in the so-called Canopic jars, of the various internal organs (embalmed) of the body.

THE DOORWAY.

The small doorway is worthy of attention. On the ceiling is painted the red disc of the sun being raised up, at sunrise, from the eastern horizon, by the arms of the goddess Nut. The inscription in front of Sen-nezem reads : "The adoration of Ra, when he rises in the horizon of the Eastern mountain of the sky, by the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., S. triumphant : saith he, Hail to thee, as thou risest from Nu, enlightening the Two Lands. After he (thou) has come forth the entire company of the gods sing praises"—ends abruptly.

On the left thickness of the entrance the two Lions of Yesterday and To-morrow sit back to back, with the sun on the horizon between them. In chapter xvii., *Book of the Dead*, the deceased says, "I am Yesterday, and I know the Morrow"; and he probably means that being now an Osiris and therefore divine, all time is known and open before him. The text here given is a part of that chapter, and begins with the column to the right :—

"Who, then, is this? It is Ra in the beginning

Ra it was who rose (appeared) as king . . . as king of Suten-henen (Heracleopolis Magna), in . . . (when) had not come into being the pillars of Shu (supporting the sky), when he was upon the . . . of Khemennu. Behold he hath destroyed the children of the sovereign princes upon the . . . land of Khemennu. I am the great god that created himself, even Nu, the waters of the sky; he is the father of all the gods. Otherwise said: It is Ra who created his name [to be] the company of the gods. What, then, is this? It is Ra who hath created the name of his limbs who became these gods that are in the following of Ra. I am he who is not driven back among the gods. What, then, is that? It is Tum"—ends here.

Opposite, on the right, is the scene of the cat slaying the serpent Apes, at the *perseae* tree, also taken from the same chapter. It is really the continuation of the last part. The inscription begins with the outside column:—

"Otherwise said: At his rising of the horizon of sky. I know the Morrow. What, then, is that? That which belongs to Yesterday is Osiris, that which belongs to the Morrow is Ra, on the day of the slaughter of the enemies of Neb-er-tcher (Lord of Completeness, the Inviolable One, a name of Osiris), and when he made his son Horus a Ruler. Otherwise said: On the day of holding the festival (?) of the meeting of the dead body (*i.e.* at

the burial) of Osiris, and of his father Ra ; and he did battle with the gods, and Osiris commanded all the people (combatants). What, then, is this? It is Amentet, that hath made the souls of the gods when Osiris commanded as lord of the Mountain of Amentet. Otherwise said: It is Amentet"—ends here.

It will be noticed that this text has no connection with the picture of the cat slaying the serpent: that occurs further on in the chapter, when the deceased says, "I am the Cat which fought (?) hard by the persea tree in Heliopolis, on that night of battle when the foes of Neb-er-tcher (Osiris) were exterminated."

LIST OF PERSONS NAMED.

I. *On Wooden Door of Tomb (Cairo Museum).*

II. *On the Funeral Sledge.*

1. 2. Sen-nezem and his wife Ai-nefer-ta.
3. His son Kha-benkhet.
4. Her daughter Ar-nefer.
5. His son Bu-nekht.
6. Her daughter A-ash-sen.
7. His son Ra-hotep.
8. . . . daughter (name lost).
9. His son Khonsu.
10. His son Ra-messu.
11. His son An-hotep.
12. His son Ra-nekhtu.

TOMB OF PA-SHEDU.

THIS tomb, known as No. 2, at Dér el Medineh, lies higher up the hill, towards the North, very near the present guardians' shelter. It consists of three rock-cut chambers in a line, the entrance to which is by a mud-brick flight of steps. The first two chambers have been devastated; the innermost chamber, decorated on entrance, sides, and vaulted roof, is a smaller room than Sen-nezem's, and not quite so well executed or preserved. From an account published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (vol. xxiii., 360, 361) it appears that it was known to the natives many years ago, and had been plundered prior to its being opened by Mr Howard Carter in 1900. An illustration from the tomb, there given, shows the owner, Pa-shedu, also an "Attendant in the True Place on the West of Thebes," bowing down to the ground, under a date-palm tree with fruit, on a canal bank. His attitude is there compared with that of a Mohammedan at prayer; and in Baedeker he is described as "lying on the ground below a palm tree and praying." This is a mistake, as will be seen later. There are no scenes of feasting depicted on the

wall, as has been asserted in the article alluded to above: the representations are entirely religious in character. The fragments of inscribed stones lying at the back of the chamber are portions of the stele—not of the sarcophagus—which covered the lower part of the end-wall. A limestone table for offerings, the only object found in the tomb when re-opened, is inscribed with the name of Men-na, a son of Pa-shedu, who was also an Attendant in the necropolis, like his father, and who is mentioned in the tomb, which is certainly not of so late a date as the xxvi. Dynasty.

In the doorway, with an cut-arch roof, on either side, are painted two jackals, seated on the tomb and facing outwards, as guardians. On the left side the inscription gives:—

“Words said by Anpu, who is in Ut (place of embalmment), great god that is in Neterkhert: I bring before thee the Attendant, etc., Pa-shedu. May the gods of the Duat receive thee; may they say, Come in peace . . . of the Duat. Hail to thee, Ra, when he rises; thou givest him worship in his setting in life, the Attendant, etc., P. triumphant: the son Menna, born of the mistress of the house Huy, triumphant.”

On the right side somewhat similar words occur:—

“Words said: Anpu, Chief of the divine house (the tomb) [I?] have given power (?) to his two hands to be near the *gerert* (a division of the Underworld)



PA-SHEDU AND HIS WIFE ADORING THE DIVINE FALCON.

. . . the enemies of Osiris, the Attendant, etc., P. I have given to thee thy abode in the secret way of the . . . mayst thou come forth and enter with Ra, and stretch thy limbs on the path to eternity, the Osiris, P. triumphant."

Down to the middle of the ceiling of the entrance, beginning at the outer edge, is the following :—

"The Attendant in the True Place, the Servant of the Storehouse of Amon in the City of the South (Luxor ?), Pa-shedu"—rest broken.

From this we learn that in addition to being an official in the Western Necropolis, Pa-shedu held an honourable post in the service of Amon in Thebes.

LEFT WALL (South).

Almost the whole of the wall on the left hand is occupied by the deceased and his wife adoring the Divine Falcon or Hawk, with a long text from chap. lxxviii., *Book of the Dead*, which is entitled, "Chapter of making the transformation into a divine falcon." Behind the couple, on the end-wall next the entrance, are three rows of relatives, who assist at the scene. When a person recited this chapter, or what to the pious Egyptian was the same thing, if he could point to it written on the wall before him, it became "a word of power," he could assume the form of the sacred bird, viz., Ra himself, and could fly

whithersoever he pleased, or, as it is given in the opening words of the chapter, "could make the round of all his dwelling-places" in the sanctuaries of Osiris and Ra. Hence the deceased is not only identified with Osiris but also with Ra, the summit of divine being and excellence. In the Papyrus of Ani (British Museum) the falcon is shown, as here, holding a large flagellum or whip in token of sovereignty. Pa-shedu and his sister-wife hold up their hands in adoration, the usual attitude of prayer and adoration—not bending to the ground like the figure under the palm tree,—and their invocation of fifty columns of varying length begins at the further end of the wall. Behind the couple, on the entrance wall, are three rows of relatives, all joining in the adoration of the Divine Falcon. The invocation is broken in parts, and the signs are not always clear, but it may be given thus :—

“ Chapter of making the transformations (forms) of the sacred falcon. Words said by the Osiris, the Attendant, etc., P. triumphant: Hail, great God, Come now to Dadu! Make thou plain to me the ways; let me go the round of my seats. Behold thou me, exalt me, O grant me terror,¹ and create thou fear of me in the gods of the Duat that they fight for me and their halls (battlements, Renouf) be on my side. Let [not] approach . . . me in the house of Darkness, he that takes possession of the Feeble One (the dead)—hidden is his name—doing even as they (?) O gods,

¹ *i.e.* the faculty of inspiring terror.

ye that hear the voice, ye chiefs that are in Nehu in the following of Osiris: keep ye silence, then, gods, when the gods speak with a god who is hearing Truth. What I have said to him say thou, Osiris. Grant thou [to me] that I may go the round and come forth according to thy mouth (word) concerning me, and see thy very forms of thyself and the dispositions of thy souls (powers). Grant thou that I may come forth and have the power of my two feet, (viz.) of the Runners, upon my pedestal, like the lord of life; may I be united unto Isis, the divine lady; may they preserve (?) me—(hole here)—. . . injure me; may no one come that he may see me feeble (dead). May I travel on and come . . . of the sky. I exchange words with Seb; I make prayers for food to Neb-er-tcher (Osiris), that the gods of the Duat may fear me and their halls fight for me when they see thy festival provision (of fish and fowl) for me. One [I am] of these *khus* (glorified spirits) that are in shining light. I have made [my] transformations (forms) like his, when he cometh to Dadu. I am *sahu* (endowed or invested) with the soul of him who has told thee my affairs.

O may he grant me terror, and create fear of me in the gods of the Duat, and their halls be on my side!

I am he that dwelleth with the Shining One, created and come into being from the gods. I am

One of those glorified Ones who dwell with the Shining Ones, whom Tum has himself created, who have come into being from the flower (apple) of his eye: he hath made to exist, and hath made glorious, he hath made great the face (*i.e.* he has honoured) of those who are to be with him. Behold, he is the Only One in Nu (waters of the sky), and they do him homage as he cometh forth from the horizon, and they impart the dread of him to the gods and the Shining Ones who are (come into being) with him. I am one of the worms which the Eye, Lady unique, hath created. Behold . . . Isis came into being, who bore Horus: I grew old, and became great (honoured) beyond those who were among the Shining Ones, who came into being with him. Then I arose (appeared) as the Divine Falcon, and Horus made *sahu* of me with his soul, in order to take possession of his goods of Osiris at the Duat. And the twin lion-god spake to me—he who is the chief of the keepers of the temple of the *nemmes* crown (wig head-dress) which is in its cave —get thee back to the furthest bounds of the sky: inasmuch as thou art *sahu* in thy forms of Horus, the *nemmes* crown is not for thee. Lo! the words that are thine [go] to the furthest bounds of the sky. I the keeper took possession of the things of Horus belonging to Osiris at the Duat. And Horus repeated to me what his father Osiris had said to

him in the years of the days (probably an expression for long past time) of the burial (of Osiris). To me the *nemmes* crown [is given] by the twin lion-god, even to me; pass thou on, and go thou upon the paths of the sky, and those that dwell at the furthest bounds of the horizon [will] see thee, and the gods of the Duat have dread of thee, and their halls fight—(hole here)—prostrate at the words of all the gods . . . funeral chest . . . the *nemmes* crown . . . the twin lion-god to me, and A-hed to me—to the furthest bounds, keeper of the shrine of the Lord of Oneness . . . I conciliate the god, the fair god, Lord of the two uræi . . . I have made a way, I am exalted—(hole)—not repulsed am I by the bull that rages, I pass onwards; he hath established my heart through his back (twice?) and through strength—(hole)—. . . darkness and suffering ones of Amentet. O Osiris, I have followed. . . . I, even I, know the paths of Nu—(hole)—great god. I am a *sahu* by Horus with his soul, to wherever there is a dead body overthrown (a wreck) before the Field of Eternity—(hole)—[the things] Horus of Osiris at the Duat. I [am] daily in the house of Tum, the Lion-god—(hole)—in the house of Isis, the divine one, to behold glorious secret things. I have seen that which is in it—. . .—near the great ones of Shu, they answer in a moment. I take possession of the things [of Horus]: I, even I am Horus, who is in the Shining One:

I have command over his *seshed* crown, I have command over his brightness, and I go forward to the uttermost paths of the sea. Horus is upon his seat, Horus is upon his throne. My face is as [that of] the divine falcon, my back (strength) is as that of the divine falcon, I am equipped [as] his lord. I come forth to Dadu that I may see Osiris, I bow myself on his two hands (perhaps, to his right and left), not [probably a blunder] do I bow myself to Nut: they see me, the gods see me [and] Horus, the Eye of himself . . . Khenti-n-maati (a title of Horus, said of him when his eyes cannot be seen) . . . they stretch out their two arms to me, and I stand up a master, who repel the faces of the strong assailants, and lead along the stars which rest (set) and make the paths holy (plain) of the Hemati for the Lord (lit. lady) of the soul Great of Terrors. Horus has ordered that ye lift up your faces and behold me. Thou (I) hast risen like a divine falcon, and Horus hath made me *sahu* with his soul, to take possession of his things of Osiris at the Duat. I have bound up the gods (?) with long tresses, I have passed on to the guardians of their den"—ends abruptly.

Pa-shedu and his wife are accompanied by two children, a boy and a girl, who are also adoring the divine falcon. The name of the head of the family is behind his wig, "the Osiris, Pa-shedu, triumphant"; his wife's name is in the



PA-SHEDU'S RELATIVES ADORING THE DIVINE FALCON.

column between the pair, "His sister¹ (wife), whom he loves, mistress of the house, Nezemt-behudet, triumphant." The son, a stripling, is nude, and stands beside his father, wearing the lock of youth: "his son, Aapeht-na, triumphant"; the girl, down in the corner, is a grand-daughter, showing three curious tufts of hair on her head very similar to what one sees among the fellahin children to-day, holds up her left hand and carries a bouquet in her right: "daughter of his daughter (not 'son'²) Ur-nu-ro (?)."

Behind this group, on the end-wall, are three rows of relatives, in the train of Pa-shedu, all adoring the divine falcon. The leader of the top row is an aged man wearing a white wig. It is Pa-shedu's father, not himself "now grey-headed": the inscription says, "His father Bak-en-Amon-Menna,³ triumphant." Next comes a woman with long black wig: "His wife, mistress of the house, Huy." It is not said that she was Pa-shedu's mother. Then a man with shaven head, and naked almost to the waist, "keeper or overseer in the storehouse of Amon, Nefer-sekheru" (good at plans): followed by "his son Pa-her-t, triumphant," and by the last in the row, face broken, "his son Pen-Amon."

The leader of the second row is also grey-headed. He is the wife's father, "her father, head of the Usekht boat of

¹ *P.S.B.A.*, xxiii., p. 360: "there is no mention of a wife." The wife was called a "sister."

² Article quoted above.

³ "Menna, the falcon of Amon."

Amon, Tchai, triumphant"—his name means "*the man*" par excellence; then come "his sister (wife), mistress of the house, Set-tha, triumphant"; "her daughter, mistress of the house, Uaa (the Boat)"; another woman, "her daughter Urnu-ro, triumphant"—the same name as the girl beside Pa-shedu's wife; and the last person, a woman, in this row is also "her daughter Any, triumphant."

In the bottom row we have Pa-shedu's grown-up sons and daughters: first, "His son, whom he loves, Pen-duau (He that gives praises), triumphant"; behind him are three women and a man, the woman first, "His daughter, Huy, triumphant"; next, "His son, whom he loves, Amon-em-ant, triumphant"; "his daughter, Nub-nefert (Good Gold); and last, "mistress of the house, Thent-nub . . . triumphant."

A row of deities, facing outwards, whom Pa-shedu is also adoring, is shown above the long invocation to the sacred falcon. The first is "Osiris, chief of Amentet, Unnefer, Lord of the Sacred Land, King to Eternity and evermore [in] Neterkhert: with his hand he makes the Khertu glorious (?) in the Duat, Lord of Ro-setau." Next comes "Isis, great divine Mother, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the gods"; behind her, "Nut, great mother—that-bore the gods, the Eye of Ra; there is not her equal, fair of face, mistress of all the gods"; next, the god Nu, with red face, and name on head—three water-pots over the sign for sky, meaning "the waters of the sky"—"Nu, great god, lord of the Sky, ruler of all the gods, he who

created himself"; further on is Nephthys, "Nebt-het, Mistress (protectress) of all lands, Eye of Ra, President of Aukert (a name for the Underworld)"; then Seb, with a speckled goose (*seb*) on his head, "Seb, father of the gods, first creator of all the gods, great god"; behind him is Anubis, "Anpu, that is in Ut, great god that is in Neterkhert"; and last, another jackal-headed god, "Uapuat of the South, Power of the Two Lands, Great God that is among the company (*puat*) of the gods."

Immediately above the last-named god begins a long inscription on the ceiling; it forms part of chapter clxxx.¹ of the *Book of the Dead*, and begins:—

"Chapter of coming forth from Day, of adoring Ra in Amentat; of giving praises to those that are in the Duat, of opening a way to the perfect Soul (mighty *Khu*) in the Underworld, of granting him to walk, of entering in to the Underworld, and of making the transformations into (taking the form of) a living soul, by the Osiris, Attendant, etc., P. triumphant. Ra it is that setteth as Osiris with all the splendours (risings, diadems) of the Shining Ones and of the gods of the Amentet. They give praises to him the divine image, the One, the hidden (things) of the Duat, the sacred soul that dwells in Amentet, he that exists for ever eternally.

¹ "This chapter does not properly belong to the *Book of the Dead*. It is part of a book engraved at the entrance of nearly all the tombs of the kings, the so-called Litany of the Sun."—Naville, *Book of the Dead*, p. 367.

“Offerings of praise before (to) thee that art in the Duat! Thy son Horus, he rests in thee; thou hast spoken to him the decree of words; grant thou that he may rise (be glorious) upon the dwellers in the Duat [as] a great star (god), bringing the things that are his to the Duat, travelling within it, a son of Ra that proceedeth from Tumu.

“Offerings of praise to thee that art in the Duat! Throne¹ that is in the upper sky, of his sceptre, King of the Duat, King of Aukert, great prince of the *Urert* crown (double crown), great god who hides his abode, Lord (lit. lady) of weighing words, overlord of his sovereign chiefs.

“Offerings of praise to thee that art in the Duat! Tables of offerings to thee! lo! offerings of praise to thee that art in the Duat! They (probably the Divine Mourners, Isis and Nephthys) wail for thee; with their hands they make supplication (?) to thee; they cry aloud to thee; they weep [before] thee. Thy soul rejoices; thou gloriest (?) thy dead body; exalted is the soul of Ra in Amentet; [they] shout for thee² . . . in the *gart* (division) of the soul of Ra that is in the Duat. [Thy] body and soul are at rest in Duat; the soul of Denden³ is at rest in Duat; his

¹ The text seems to be imperfect here.

² The text seems to be imperfect here.

³ Den-den, “the mighty or valorous one”; the name of the guardian demon of Pylon 9, Tomb of Kha-em-uāst (*Two Theban Princes*, p. 42).

souls¹ . . . Hail! Ra, I am the servant of thy temple —brave (*sekhem*) of heart—in thy divine dwelling ; thou hast uttered thy commands ; grant thou that I may shine among those that are in the Duat, [like] a great star, bringing what belongs to him to the Duat and journeying in it, a son of Ra proceeding from Tum.

“I rest in the Duat ; I am master of the darkness, I enter into it, and I come forth from it. The arms of Ta-tunen receive me, and ye who are at rest (the blessed) raise me up ; give ye your hands to me ; I know”—ends here abruptly.

THE PALM TREE SCENE.

This scene, showing Pa-shedu bending low on a canal bank, with his face to the ground under a date-palm, has been erroneously described as Pa-shedu praying. The scene is rather an illustration of chapters lvii. to lxiii. a of the *Book of the Dead*, which refer to drinking water in the Underworld. The vignettes which usually accompany these chapters represent the deceased either taking up water with his hands from a canal or stream into his mouth, or kneeling by the side of a canal and receiving water from the goddess of the sycamore, as we have seen in Sen-nezem’s Tomb. The scene before us begins on the right side (top) of the arched entrance (looking outwards), where Pa-shedu, kneeling, is receiving

¹ The text seems to be imperfect here.

water in his hands from a goddess in a fruit-laden tree (she is growing out of it), which rises from a canal bank, the end of which is directly behind the back of Pen-Amon, the last figure in the top row of relatives. On the canal bank a minute figure of a woman in a white robe is also kneeling, receiving fruit from the tree. She is Pa-shedu's wife, as the words below the canal show, "Mistress of the house, Nezem-behud." The scene extends to the left wall across the entrance: the canal is really the same on both sides. Unfortunately the beginning of the text of the chapter is destroyed, but from another tomb in the vicinity, recently discovered, which the author was permitted to see, where a similar scene is depicted, the chapter here given seems to be chapter lxiii. A, entitled, "Chapter of drinking water in the Underworld, and of not being burned by fire," with variations, combined with chapter lxii. In the Tomb alluded to there are two texts, one beginning, "Chapter of drinking water by the side of a palm-tree (*mama*)," and another, "Chapter of drinking water by the side of a *bena* (? date-palm) tree." Here the first signs legible are "water," and the inscription goes on:—

"In the Underworld and not being burned by fire, [by] the Osiris, Attendant, etc., P. triumphant: May the great (one) of heart (perhaps a source of water) be open; and unlocked be the cooling streams of Hapi, Lord of the Horizon, in his name of coverer (*pens*) of thy (*sic*) land; may I be master of the



PA-SHEDU UNDER THE PALM-TREE.

[To face page 190.

water of Setekh (the god). I sail the sky, I am the Double Lion-God, I am Ra, I am the young Bull; it is I who eat the flesh of the heir (*au n ua*); I divide (?) the haunch, I go round the pools of the Garden of Aaru; there has been given to me eternity—it has no bounds. Lo! I am the heir of eternity; [it] has been given to the heir of eternity." Some passages from chap. liv. now come in. "I watch over (?) that great thing¹ [which] Seb hath severed from the earth. I live, it lives; I grow old, it lives; I snuff the breezes, I am joined to Abat (?) . . . I go round (behind) to protect his eggs. I have shone at the moment of Horus and the night of Set. Hail! ye that are pleasant to the two lands with celestial food, who are in the *lapis lazuli* (the blue of the sky), keep guard over him who is in his nest, the old man² (*nekhekh*) who cometh forth"—ends abruptly.

RIGHT WALL (North).

Near the corner, next the entrance, Pa-shedu stands, wearing a black wig and holding both hands up in adoration of four gods enthroned. Above is the text: "The Osiris, the Attendant, etc., on the West of Thebes, P. triumphant." Beside him is his young daughter, called

¹ "The egg that springs from the back of Seb."—RENOUF.

² Det, an old man leaning on his staff.

Nub-nefert : she is nude, holding both hands up like her father ; long curls hang down her back. The gods are (1) "Ra-Horus, living, of the two horizons, great god, who rests in Aukert." He wears a cobra-encircled sun-disc, and holds *ankh* and *user*. (2) "Tum (Tmu, red, man's face, with blue beard), lord of the two lands of Annu, god unique, resting upon *Maat*, in his name of Prince of Annu, Lord of the Red Crown, Prince of the *Ueret* Crown, Chief of the Sacred Land." (3) "Khepera (with a beetle-head), Master of his bark, Weigher of words that become gods, Lord of manifold births and forms, He that gives birth to his own body, great god." And (4) "Ptah, Lord of Truth, King of the Two Lands, Fair of countenance, upon his great throne, august god, beloved, exalted, creator of everlastingness, creator of Mankind, giving birth to the gods, Master of the Craftsmen of every work of Man, He who makes the Two Lands live." Here there is a large Dad with horns and feathers, eyes, arms, and whips.

Immediately above the row of gods just described there is another, similar to that on the South wall, which is worshipped on bended knee by Pa-shedu's son, Menna, who kneels at the corner of the wall near the stern of the boat of Ra which is over the door. He, the son, is simply "His son, Menna, triumphant." The gods are : (1) "Osiris, Chief of Amentet, Un-nefer, King of the Living, Lord of Eternity, Maker of Everlastingness, Neterkhert (the Underworld) is in his hand"; (2) "Thoth (Tehuti), Lord of Khemennu (Hermopolis), great god, He that is Lord of

Hesert (a district of Upper Egypt), Lord of Eternity, Maker of Everlastingness, [his] duration (course) is within the Duat, Master of his sceptre (? wood-palette), the circuit (*shenen*) is in his hand (control?)” ; (3) Hat-hor, holding a sistrum, is simply “ Het-heru (House of Horus), Protectress of Thebes, Lady of the sky, Mistress of the Two Lands” ; (4) “ Ra-Hor-Khuti (on the two horizons), great god” ; (5) the goddess Neith, with a dark blue shuttle on her head, “ Neith, great divine Mother, Lady of the sky, Mistress of the gods” ; (6) the goddess Serqet, with the basket ornament, instead of a scorpion, on her head, “ Lady of the sky, Mistress of the Two Lands” ; (7) “ Anubis (Anpu), president of the Divine dwelling (the tomb), great god” ; and “ Uap-uat of the South, Power of the Two Lands, great god, Lord of the sky.”

As on the other side above the gods, there is here also a long text from the *Book of the Dead*, part of chapter clxxxi. It begins at the entrance end :—

“ Chapter of entering in before the sovereign chiefs of Osiris and the gods who are the guides of the Duat, the guardians of their halls, ye (*sic*) the heralds of their *arits*, the doorkeepers of the pylons [of Amentet], and of making the transformation (taking the form) of a living soul, and of praising Osiris, and becoming (as) a Prince of the sovereign chiefs : said by the Osiris, Attendant, etc., P. : Hail to thee, who art the Chief of Amentet, Un-nefer, Lord of the Sacred Land, thou shonest (risest) like Ra ; verily he

Nub-nefert : she is nude, holding both hands up like her father ; long curls hang down her back. The gods are (1) "Ra-Horus, living, of the two horizons, great god, who rests in Aukert." He wears a cobra-encircled sun-disc, and holds *ankh* and *user*. (2) "Tum (Tmu, red, man's face, with blue beard), lord of the two lands of Annu, god unique, resting upon *Maat*, in his name of Prince of Annu, Lord of the Red Crown, Prince of the *Urert* Crown, Chief of the Sacred Land." (3) "Khepera (with a beetle-head), Master of his bark, Weigher of words that become gods, Lord of manifold births and forms, He that gives birth to his own body, great god." And (4) "Ptah, Lord of Truth, King of the Two Lands, Fair of countenance, upon his great throne, august god, beloved, exalted, creator of everlastingness, creator of Mankind, giving birth to the gods, Master of the Craftsmen of every work of Man, He who makes the Two Lands live." Here there is a large Dad with horns and feathers, eyes, arms, and whips.

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comes to see thee, and rejoices at beholding thy beauties ; his *aten* (disc) is thy *aten* ; his rays are thy rays ; his *urert* (the two crowns of Egypt) is thy *urert* ; his greatness (height) is thy greatness ; his shining thy shining ; his beauties are thy beauties ; [his terrible power] is thy terrible power ; his odour is thy odour ; his breadth is thy breadth ; thy seat is his seat ; his throne is thy throne ; his kinsfolk (heir) is thy kinsfolk ; his ornaments [are thy] ornaments ; [thy judg]ment is his [judgment ; his] Ament is thy [Ament] ; thy goods . . . his knowledge (?) is thy knowledge ; his creations (so Naville) are thy creations ; as he is, so art thou ; as thou art, so is he ; he dies not, thou¹ diest not ; he dies not ; [if] he triumphs not over his enemies, thou dost not—[if] no evil things happen to thee (him), neither will they happen to thee for evermore and for ever.”

“Hail to thee, Osiris, Son of Nut, Lord of the Two Horns, exalted is his *atef* crown ; given to him is the *urert* crown, and the *heq*, in the presence of the Company of the Gods. Temu (the god) has created his terrible power in the hearts of men and gods, and the glorified of the dead ; given to him is the *heq* in Annu ; he is great of forms in Dadu, the lord of dread in the two Aats, great in might in Ro-setau, his memory is fair in the Great House, [his] brightness (risings)”—ends abruptly.

¹ “he” in original, as in Papyrus of Qenna, which this text resembles.

ADORATION OF PTAH-SEKER IN HIS BOAT.

This scene occupies the space above the entrance. To the right, "Ka-ha triumphant, his son, an Attendant in the True Place on the West of Thebes," kneels adoring; the corresponding figure is, as we have seen, another son, Menna. They are not elsewhere named in the tomb. Menna's office is not mentioned, neither is that of the other two sons, in the bottom row of relatives. The falcon-god, above whose head is a large right-eye, is described as "Ptah-Sekeri, Lord of Truth of the Aat, great god, Lord of Ro-setau, Chief of the Sacred Land." Above and behind the god is Ka-ha's speech:—

"I am come into thy presence, Lord of Truth; [thy] good name is established in the earth (the Two Lands), [thou] traversest the sky, and enlightenest the two lands; maker of the *qerti* (caverns) of the Shining Ones in the Duat; Giver of Rest to the gods."

UNION WITH OSIRIS.

The rear wall is the climax of the whole, where supreme homage is paid to, and identification of Pa-shedu made with, Osiris, the great god of the Underworld. On either side of the central scene we have pictures of Pa-shedu and his wife in boats. On the left side, the pair appear as two mummy figures, probably the Ka statues

on their way to the burial-place of Osiris at Abydos to acquire sanctity by being placed in or near the tomb of the god for a time, before being deposited in this tomb. They sit in a pavilion without a canopy: he is red all over; she is white from the neck. The names only are given. On the right side, they sit in a pavilion in a boat, probably on their voyage back from Abydos, both clad in white, with the child Urnur beside them. A short inscription near the bow of the boat says:—

“Chapter of sailing to the house of Hat-hor (The Necropolis); while above P., his office and name are recorded; and behind his wife we have, “his sister (wife), whom he loves, Mistress of the house, Nezem-behudet, triumphant, and her son Menna, triumphant.”

On the left of the Osiris scene is the “Mountain of the West,” the domain of Hat-hor—the region of the departed; to the right, Osiris, the Chief of Amentet (Hidden Land), sits enthroned. Within the Mountain of the West the departed Pa-shedu kneels, adoring the great god, Osiris. Note that Pa-shedu is now with Osiris, and faces the same way as the god: he is in the “following” of the god. Above is a falcon, probably the transformed Pa-shedu, with white body, and green wings with black bars. A large right-eye, furnished with arms and hands, holds out over Pa-shedu kneeling behind Osiris a bowl of incense with two flames; this right-eye is probably the Eye of Horus which he presented to his

father Osiris, thereby providing the latter with a Soul or Ba as an element in the reconstruction of the dead god. Pa-shedu is here supposed to receive his Soul likewise. In front of Osiris, a kneeling god, facing both Osiris and Pa-shedu, also burns incense from a similar bowl. This god has a green face, red body, and blue wig. Osiris, with green face and body, wrapped in fine white linen as usual, holds his customary *heq* (crook) and whip (*nekkek*).

The scene is partly described above, right half, "Chapter of kindling a flame," the title of chap. cxxxvii. A or cxxxvii. B, Papyrus of Neb-seni, where the vignette shows the hippo goddess Api, "lady of protection," setting fire to a bowl of incense. In the Turin Papyrus the deceased sits between two burning bowls on either side of him, which may account for the double flame in both cases here. In the Papyrus of Nu and in the Gardener's (Sen-nofer's) Tomb at Thebes, four men, each holding a flame, offer them to the deceased, who has been united to Osiris. And it will be remembered that in the story of the divine birth of Amon-hotep III. a reference occurs to the "kindling of a flame," which is associated with physical birth: here there may be a similar reference to the new birth in the Underworld before Osiris. Chap. cxxxvii. is entitled, "Chapter of the Four Flames of the Shining Ones made for a person": here we have the words,

"Chapter of kindling a flame for the Ka of Osiris,
Chief of Amentet: Opened for thee (Pa-shedu) is the

way in the darkness of night, in the abode that is in eternity ; strong is thy heart for the breadth (?) of the land ; Osiris is the Prince (*heq*) of the Company of the gods, he is established before thee for ever."

Over Osiris are his names and titles, thus : "Osiris, Chief of Amentet, Un-nefer, King of Living Ones, Lord of Eternity, Prince of Everlastingness ; protection, life, stability, power, all health and joy of heart."

In the chapters cited above there are numerous references to the "Eye of Horus" here depicted. It was the symbol of all good and perfect gifts, as being the most precious thing Horus had to offer to his dead father Osiris : "The eye of Horus is protecting thee"; "the Eye of Horus sendeth forth rays like Ra"; "the Eye of Horus is sound and well"; the "Shining Eye of Horus"; "the brilliant Eye of Horus comes"; "the Eye of Horus liveth within the Great Hall"; etc. The "flower (our 'apple') of the eye" as a creative agent is mentioned above.

This completes the apotheosis of Pa-shedu.

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